

# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

June  
1949

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

Volume 14  
Number 3

## EDITORIAL BOARD

### Editor

MAURICE R. DAVIE

### Managing Editor

IRENE B. TAEUBER

### President

TALCOTT PARSONS

### Assistant Editors

FRANK LORIMER

IRA DE A. REID

GORDON W. BLICKWELL

PAUL H. LANDIS

HARRY ALPERT

WILLIAM H. SEWELL

### Book Review Editor

STEPHEN W. REED

### Editorial Staff

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD

RAYMOND KENNEDY

L. W. SIMMONS

JOHN SIRJAMAKI

## Contents

Individual Adjustment in Industrial Society .....	ESTHER BOORMAN STRONG	335
Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements .....	RUDOLF HEBERLE	346
Factors Sustaining the Birth Rate .....	T. J. WOOFER	357
Age and Sex Categories as Sociological Variables in the Mental Disorders of Later Maturity .....	IVAN BELKNAP AND HIRAM J. FRIEDSAM	367
Changes in the Structure of Race Relations in the South .....	HARRY J. WALKER	377
Church Membership and Church Attendance in Madison, Wisconsin .....	LOUIS BULTENA	384
Social Disorganization and Reorganization in Harlan County, Kentucky .....	PAUL FREDERICK CRESSEY	389
Problems in Postdivorce Adjustment .....	WILLIAM J. GOODE	394
Marriages of Mixed and Non-Mixed Religious Faith .....	JUDSON T. LANDIS	401
Sociology of Education: A Definition .....	W. B. BROOKOVER	407
The Economic Structure and Social Life in Six Villages of Bengal .....	RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE	415
CURRENT ITEMS		
News and Announcements .....		426
Obituary .....		429

## BOOK REVIEWS

Laski: <i>The American Democracy</i> . Harold D. Lasswell .....	431
Mills and Schneider: <i>The New Men of Power</i> . Charles E. Lindblom .....	432
Whelpton, Eldridge, and Siegel: <i>Forecasts of the Population of the United States: 1945-1975</i> . Georges Sabagh .....	433

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October and December. Copyright 1949 by the American Sociological Society. Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$6.00 per year. Subscription rate: \$4.50. Single issues, \$1.00. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States, Canada, and other countries in the Pan-American Union; other countries in the Postal Union, fifty cents.

Address all business communications to the Managing Editor, AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Irene B. Taeuber, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. Changes of address must be requested at least one month in advance.

Address all editorial communications to the Editor, Maurice R. Davie, 133 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. All unsolicited manuscripts must enclose return postage.

Address all matters pertaining to book reviews to the Book Review Editor, Stephen W. Reed, 133 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 23, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P. L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1949

*President*, TALCOTT PARSONS, Harvard University

*First Vice-President*, DOROTHY S. THOMAS, University of Pennsylvania

*Second Vice-President*, PHILIP M. HAUSER, University of Chicago

*Secretary-Treasurer*, IRENE B. TAEUBER, Princeton University

### COMMITTEES

#### EXECUTIVE

TALCOTT PARSONS  
DOROTHY S. THOMAS  
PHILIP M. HAUSER

#### Former Presidents

RUPERT B. VANCE  
KIMBALL YOUNG  
CARL C. TAYLOR  
LOUIS WIRTH  
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

#### Elected at Large

KATHARINE JOCHER  
SAMUEL A. STOUFFER  
MARGARET J. HAGOOD  
DONALD R. YOUNG  
IRA DE A. REID  
CONRAD TAEUBER

#### Elected from Affiliated Societies

RAYMOND V. BOWERS  
EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER  
ROBERT K. MERTON  
HARRINGTON C. BREARLEY  
ALVIN GOOD  
NORMAN HAYNER  
JAMES M. REINHARDT  
CECIL C. NORTH

#### ADMINISTRATION

TALCOTT PARSONS  
IRENE B. TAEUBER  
MAURICE R. DAVIE

#### Elected by the Executive Committee

RUPERT B. VANCE  
LOUIS WIRTH  
CARL C. TAYLOR

Taylor et al.: <i>Rural Life in the United States</i> . N. L. Whetten . .	434
Riecken and Whetten: <i>Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut</i> . Arthur K. Davis .....	435
Rose and Rose: <i>America Divided</i> . Samuel Koenig .....	435
Johnson and Yost: <i>Separation of Church and State in the United States</i> . Oliver C. Cox .....	437
Ottley: <i>Black Odyssey: The Story of the Negro in America</i> . Arnold M. Rose .....	437
Griffith: <i>American Me</i> . Alvin W. Rose .....	438
Schermerhorn: <i>These Our People</i> . Joseph S. Roucek .....	439
Mears: <i>Mirror for Americans—Japan</i> . John F. Embree ....	439
Ogburn (Ed.): <i>Technology and International Relations</i> . Erwin O. Smigel .....	440
Isaac: <i>Economics of Migration</i> . Paul A. Dodd .....	441
Barnes: <i>Historical Sociology</i> . Bernhard J. Stern .....	442
Russell: <i>British Medieval Population</i> . A. J. Jaffe .....	442
Beveridge: <i>Voluntary Action</i> . James H. S. Bossard .....	443

### BOOK NOTES

Thompson and Thompson: <i>Race and Region</i> .....	444
American Council on Education: <i>Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials</i> .....	444
Landis and Barrett: <i>Segregation in Washington</i> .....	444
Greer: <i>American Social Reform Movements</i> .....	445
Bruno: <i>Trends in Social Work</i> .....	445
Das: <i>The American Woman in Modern Marriage</i> .....	445
Landis and Landis: <i>Building a Successful Marriage</i> .....	445
Emerson et al.: <i>America's Pacific Dependencies</i> .....	446
Jacoby: <i>Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia</i> .....	446
Rees-Williams et al.: <i>Three Reports on the Malayan Problem</i> .....	446
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED .....	447



# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

June  
1949

Volume 14  
Number 3

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society



## INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENT IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NAVY EMPLOYEE COUNSELING SERVICE\*

ESTHER BOORMAN STRONG†  
*New York University*

WORLD WAR II put to the test the strength of our industrial society. This strength rests upon a foundation of well-adjusted, co-operative, and productive individuals. The wartime mobilization of manpower drew into our industrial life many people often unprepared to meet its exacting demands. Each of these individuals had to find his place in the productive processes of the nation. This widespread individual readjustment intensified the social problems inherent in industrialization and had its effect on the experienced as well as on the inexperienced worker.

In the Navy Department an employee counseling service was established to assist its civilian employees in making the adjustments demanded by wartime conditions. The basic assumption in this program was that a normal adult finds socially significant participation in society through his work, and that in industrial society this participation is of primary importance for his personality integration. An individual's cultural condi-

tioning was recognized as having an important bearing on the effectiveness of his participation, measured either by his own welfare or by the efficiency standards of the job. The objectives of the personnel counselor were integrated with those of the management engineer or "efficiency expert" at a point of critical importance to both—productivity. To the latter this term signified work progress; to the counselor it signified latent employee capacities released in productive activity.

In its shipyards and munitions plants, in its great network of distribution services with supply depots and related activities, in its contract work with industrial concerns of various types, the Navy employed during the war thousands of civilian workers. The nerve center for this huge undertaking, as well as for the Navy Command, was the Department in Washington, D.C.

The civilian payroll in Washington rose from approximately 2,500 in 1938 to about 20,000 in 1945. A similar trend occurred in the Navy's shore establishments in the continental United States where civilian employment increased from 65,000 in 1938 to approximately 700,000 in 1945.

Notable in this increase was the expanding utilization of women workers. The first woman employee in the Department was a librarian appointed in 1890. Many "Yeo-

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.

† The writer served as Coordinator of Employee Counseling Services in the Navy Department from 1943 until the end of the war. She is now Staff Member, Personnel Policy Board, Office of the Secretary of Defense.

men(F)'s" of World War I (forerunners of the WAVES) were given civilian jobs after demobilization. By 1940 there were about 6,500 women in Navy "white collar" jobs, or about 37 per cent of the total payroll in this category. In 1940 the Navy first reported women in "blue collar" jobs. By 1944, 62 per cent of all "white collar" workers (about 79,000) and 16 per cent of "blue collar" workers (about 103,000) were women. In Washington, 73 per cent (about 14,000) of the Navy's civilian force were women.

This wartime expansion of civilian personnel in Washington was effected and maintained by a nation-wide recruitment program. Any qualified worker who would take a contract for six months had his travel expenses paid to Washington. The interviews supposed to establish the qualifications of these workers often became, under wartime pressures, sales talks with the utilization of the workers left to the personnel officers in Washington. The need for this expensive program continued because of heavy turnover.

The newcomers were of several types: (1) well-qualified workers whose major problem was the building of new ties along familiar lines; this was the largest group; (2) adolescents with no work experience who had to be trained in work habits and suitable behavior in a work situation; (3) submarginal workers who had previously failed because they lacked capacity or training; (4) experienced workers who, transferring to new occupations, had to adjust deeply entrenched behavior patterns; (5) individuals who, conditioned to a society in which status was based on birth, religion, or possessions, demanded that the work situation conform to their expectations and experienced difficulty when this did not occur; (6) individuals whose previous experience had brought them to the verge of personality disorganization.

Oldtimers as well as newcomers faced adjustment problems when the long established patterns of interaction, both formal and informal, gave way in wartime expansion. Women with no supervisory experience found themselves responsible for the work of

as many as two hundred and fifty employees differing in age, race, and work experience. Permanent Department employees saw war service appointees receive salaries greater than their own. Practices which oldtimers deemed essential newcomers scorned as "red tape."

The military "overlay" of approximately 30,000 in the Departmental service, many of whom were newly recruited WAVES, uncertain of their functions, still further complicated the interaction patterns affecting civilian employees. The naval personnel were subject to the social controls of a military status organization which were different from, and often contradictory to, the social controls of industrial life. This awareness of difference created jealousies and antagonisms which had to be resolved in the interests of work efficiency.

Navy expansion swelled the numbers of new residents in Washington and contributed to the already overtaxed facilities of the city. Washington soon became known as the nation's Boom Town No. 1. Housing was at a premium, eating places, stores, banks, schools, hospitals, and transportation facilities were strained to the utmost. The daily frustrations of community life were often reflected on the job and programs had to be developed to lower these tensions. At first this community dislocation was held responsible for all problems of turnover and employee maladjustment. In time, however, it became evident that while these were important they did not greatly affect the turnover rate.<sup>1</sup>

The Counseling Service was a staff function of the civilian personnel office.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion was based on a study of Absenteeism in the Federal Government made by the writer in 1943 for the Council of Personnel Administration.

<sup>2</sup> Counseling in the Navy shore establishments differed considerably from that in the Department. In the shipyards and munitions plants, where previously only men had worked, many changes had to be made when women were employed. Shop stewards were given women personnel assistants who were responsible for helping women employees who had no experience in industrial work. The use of safety devices, appropriate clothing, the

counselors did not take administrative action. Employees and supervisors came to the counseling offices on their own initiative or were referred there by someone in authority. Originally designed to assist new employees, the responsibilities of the Counseling Service soon expanded to include any who could benefit by its help, old and new employees, men and women, people in all levels and types of work. Routine entrance and exit interviews were scheduled. Absenteeism, tardiness, sickness, emotional display on the job, or other signs of a breakdown in pro-

ductivity were considered symptoms of difficulty that could be determined by social analysis. If the counselor thought that personality analysis was necessary, the employee was referred to the psychiatrist at the U.S. Public Health Service. If an employee was physically ill, he could be referred to the U.S. Public Health Service for a "fitness-for-duty" examination.<sup>3</sup> The counselors were concerned to see how the productive energy of the individual could be released by the adjustment of whatever blocked his effectiveness. The difficulty might lie in the individual, or in his environment, or in their mutual incompatibility.

In addition to work with individuals, the counselors were often requested to investigate units in which statistics on grievances, absenteeism, turnover, or low efficiency ratings indicated unsatisfactory conditions.

While management experts stressed the efficiency of organization from the structural and functional viewpoint, the counselors were critics of organization in the light of its adequacy for meeting the needs of employee adjustment. Reports of the situation, as they saw it, were made monthly to the personnel officers for use in organizational planning.

The type of woman already employed as a personnel assistant in the shops, however, presented serious obstacles. The alternative to the development of a legitimate counseling program was a redefinition of counseling in line with the social realities in the yards. Thus the use of the word "counselor" applied to these women personnel assistants indicated women who gave out information concerning safety rules, kept records, and served as members of an advisory board on needed adjustments related to women's work. Since shop stewards and foremen were reluctant to give up any of their authority in regard to policy and procedure, the advisory function of the women personnel assistants was difficult to activate.

In addition to these women personnel assistants, social workers to whom hardship cases could be referred were attached to the Employee Services Office in the yards. These social workers assisted both men and women. For example: a man working in a West Coast shipyard heard that his wife had been taken seriously ill in a small New England town where she was living. If he could borrow the money would there be any way to get her to a Boston hospital and to see that his children were cared for? The social worker, through her knowledge of social agencies, secured correct and adequate information thus making it possible for the man to meet his responsibilities without returning to New England.

<sup>3</sup>The Naval Dispensary, which provided full medical care for military personnel and their families, could be called upon in times of emergency but there were practical difficulties in regard to its use. At the beginning of the war a nursing service for civilians was established. The duties of the first-aid nurses included home visits to employees too frequently absent on sick leave. While ostensibly in the interests of employee health, this often degenerated into a police measure. The law provided employees a sick leave with pay. During the first three days the employee could be absent without a doctor's excuse. Sick leave did not accumulate to the employee's credit at the termination of his services, as did annual leave, so it was easy for the employee to have an illness too bad to permit him to do his work but not bad enough to interfere with shopping or swimming. Needless to say, sick-leave statistics did not give an accurate indication of the health conditions in the Federal government. Malingering, or the misuse of sick leave, was considered a major source of labor loss. The health service consequently tended to become a disciplinary tool rather than an effective service for the adjustment of personnel in the work situation.

The counselors operated neither as social workers nor as psychiatrists. It was not their responsibility to advise the employee on his personal off-the-job problems, nor to provide him with the therapeutic values<sup>4</sup> claimed to result through the emotional release of the nondirected interview, nor to operate an employee services program.<sup>5</sup> They were personnel officers concerned strictly with the problems of personnel management. Their work was dependent upon their skill in social analysis. Their function was to analyze the social interaction of the employee with his environment in the work situation, to help him to understand the specific demands being made upon him by his social participation on the job, and to make recommendations leading to the release of the individual's productive energies.

Dr. Burleigh B. Gardner in *Human Relations in Industry*,<sup>6</sup> states that:

The individual is not an inert plastic being forced into a social mold. . . . Instead he has been "conditioned" by his experiences in all his different roles in all the different structures, and he brings to his job a complex pattern of behavior, attitudes, and concepts which are a result of his whole life experience. . . .

Looking at it this way, we can describe the well-adjusted person as one who finds some balance between the satisfactions he is seeking, between his demands and expectations, and the satisfactions which the job provides. The poorly adjusted individual is the one whose demands are much greater than the satisfactions he receives.

Our interpretation varied from this. While we recognized the influence of many

relationships in the molding of personality, primary importance was attached to the work situation.

The well-adjusted person is one able to participate adequately in society through socially significant productive activity. The worker who is well-adjusted on the job tends, because of this adjustment, to be well-adjusted in his social relationships. The maladjusted person is one who fails to utilize his full potentialities and training in activity which he, as well as society, recognizes as socially valuable.

Not everyone producing an adequate output on the job is a well-adjusted person. The term "adequate output" indicates a norm or standard established by a group. The adequacy of the individual's productivity, however, must be measured against his own capacities and training and the extent to which he derives a sense of security and social worth through this activity. In this sense productivity, or socially significant participation on the job, becomes the measure of adjustment for the individual. In industrial society there is a status system based primarily, not on birth, nor on possessions, nor on religion, but on productivity. For the individual, this productivity represents not only output, but also creative activity, meaningful to the person and to society, an opportunity to utilize his abilities and training and to know that his work has social value.

Traditionally, men find this activity primarily through their jobs. For women, society places primary significance on the bearing and rearing of children; other forms of activity are considered secondary. In modern industrial society, however, women increasingly find that socially significant activities formerly carried on in the home have been taken over by mass production.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>For a report on therapeutic interviewing, see F. J. Roethlisberger and Wm. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

<sup>5</sup>The traditional "Employee Relations" program usually includes employee services. The Navy Department developed numerous employee services, including a housing office, a car-sharing program, a recreation program, banking facilities, eating facilities, and a first-aid service. These were not a substitute for community resources but supplemented them. While counselors often originated such services, administrative responsibility for their operation was not their primary responsibility.

<sup>6</sup>Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945, pp. 170-171.

<sup>7</sup>The Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, calls attention to this situation as follows: "The living standards of the contemporary family constitute the very basis of the present industrial mass-production system, since wide markets are essential to it. The well-being of the family, in turn, depends more and more on the money income it receives, rather than on the industry



As a result, they too, are more and more dependent on jobs for adequate or satisfying social participation.

An individual interacts with his environment in several ways: physically, emotionally, by role-taking, and by means of his productive activity. When an adult is unable to find adequate means of interacting with his environment through productive activity, he may revert to psychosomatic illness as socially acceptable behavior. In that case we find sick leave mounting and inefficiency on the job. Or he may react on the emotional level through anger or emotional dependency, demanding sympathy or pity to compensate for inadequate productivity. Or he may react by assuming a role not inherent in the social situation, blaming others for their "bad attitudes" if they do not sustain his self-determined role. The individual who, because of a rigid and unreal role pattern, is unable to adjust to changing conditions may become desperate and, losing contact with reality, claim that he is Napoleon, or the Pope, or God.

Mental health or illness, unless the individual is organically disabled, is not static; it may become better or worse, depending upon the individual's ability to interact adequately with his environment. He can be helped, therefore, to better health by various means. In industrial society, in which productivity has so high a social value, people may be aided in finding emotional security through activities that utilize their potentialities. Mental illness developed through inadequate participation in productive activity may manifest itself in social unrest. Inadequate employment practices, as well as unemployment, create fear, a sense of in-

adequacy, and emotional insecurity that result in community disorganization. Individuals, mentally disturbed through maladjustment in the work situation, may easily be persuaded to put their trust in some form of status organization alien to industrial society unless they can be helped to regain their mental health through their productive activity. The link is close and important, therefore, between those responsible for personnel practices in placement, training, and job adjustment and the social conditions in industrial society.

of the housewife and of other family members in directly providing for family needs within the four walls of the home. This situation, primarily, lies at the root of the changes among married women workers, whose numbers multiplied nearly six times from 1900 to 1940 and who rose from about one-seventh to over one-third of all women workers. About 6 per cent of all married women worked in 1900, compared to over 15 per cent in 1940." *Women's Occupations through Seven Decades*, by Janet M. Hooks, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947, p. 40.

The relation of the satisfactions derived from the job and the employee's "demands and expectations" is not an adequate measure of personality adjustment. An example will illustrate this point. A statistician at a "P" rating, who had little aptitude for figures, was inadequate on the job. Aware of her inadequacy she developed a deep insecurity and frustration, and reacted on an emotional level, accusing her supervisor of favoritism and her fellow workers of petty persecution. Her supervisor found her behavior disruptive to the work. When she was offered a job in which she could better utilize her capacities at the same salary but at a "CAF" (clerical, administrative, and fiscal rating) she declined to consider it. Although she recognized that she would be much happier in another type of work, her college experience and community associations had conditioned her to expect and demand professional work as a statistician. Thus her "demands and expectations" were in reality the source of her maladjustment.

A major factor which often accounted for an employee's inadequacy on the job was his previous cultural conditioning<sup>8</sup> when it was sufficiently different from the prevailing sub-culture patterns to prevent satisfactory adjustment. The high degree of specialization characteristic of industrial society has given rise to a wide diversity of sub-culture

<sup>8</sup> John Gillin, "Personality Formation from the Comparative Cultural Point of View," in *Personality*, ed. by Kluckhohn and Murray, New York: Knopf, 1946, pp. 164-74; also Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *ibid*, pp. 282-91.



patterns, knit together into the larger culture pattern by the productivity which is its dominant factor. These sub-culture patterns determine the individual's definition of approved or disapproved behavior. We find these differences even within a single organization like the Navy Department, where the pattern of behavior in the shipyards is hardly intelligible to the white-collar Departmental workers; yet they both operate under one set of executive orders. If an individual moves from one sub-group to another his lack of appropriate cultural conditioning may block his effective participation in productive activity. Even though he has been conditioned since birth in industrial society, this block may be a source of personality difficulty. This maladjustment may be superficial or fundamental. Language, clothes, cleanliness, and behavior patterns that have symbolic value may be inadequate and result in either minor or major frustrations.

Adjustment problems often reached crisis proportions for new employees on arrival in Washington. The recruits, worn down by the trials of wartime travel, when they stepped off the train at Union Station were overcome by fear of the unknown or their own inadequacy to cope with the situation. Fainting, accidents, weeping, dependence on the persistent attentions of over-friendly traveling companions, lost purses and baggage, bewilderment and exhaustion were symptoms of the traumatic experience which this venture became to many of the girls. In a booth on the concourse of Union Station twenty-four hour counseling service for Navy civilian employees was maintained. Working in close co-operation with the housing office, the health service, the loan office, the police force, and the induction center, counselors helped many a recruit to come through this crisis of fear and confusion to a happy work experience.

Let me cite an example. One rainy afternoon a young girl from a North Dakota farm arrived, her train five hours late. She had never before been farther from home than the county schoolhouse, had never been on a train before, nor seen a big city. She

had left the farm because of her step-mother whom she hated. Looking very weary and frightened, her first question as she signed the register was about housing. She waited timidly after the counselor had taken care of all the other recruits who had arrived on the same train. Then she asked again where she would live. Once more the counselor described the attractive dormitory for government girls to which she had been assigned. Tears came to her eyes. She didn't want to go there. She wanted to go to a private home—some place where the people liked animals. "You see," she hesitated. "Well—I have a problem." With that, she pulled her hands out of her two patch pockets and placed four baby kittens on the counselor's desk. "I've fed them all the way here with a dropper. I couldn't leave them behind," she explained. "My step-mother would have killed them." The counselor recognized the kittens as the only mooring the girl had in that turbulent sea of dangerous new experiences. They were the symbol of her defiance of her step-mother. Helped past this crisis, the girl became a fine worker, well-adjusted on the job, and the cats lost their poignant significance.

The frustrations of individuals unprepared for their new roles sometimes manifested itself in anti-social behavior.<sup>9</sup> Girls who were picked up for shop-lifting and other offenses often proved to be bewildered rather than dishonest. Coming into industrial life from small villages or non-industrialized areas, they did not know how to cope with the conditions that confronted them. In many cases they were in real danger because they lacked the accustomed, though often unrecognized, safeguards of the life they had previously known. For their own protection they needed an understanding of the situation. The transference of the corner drug-store pattern of behavior to the Washington bars was an example.

When a whole group was involved in cul-

<sup>9</sup> See Abram Kardiner, "The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 113.

tural readjustment, it seemed simpler to alter the procedures than to change the habits of the workers. Such was the case with a group of Indians recruited on a Reservation for work in a Navy yard. The foreman assigned to the direction of their work reported them a sullen, unmanageable crowd, soldiering on the job. He was ready to quit if he could not have a different assignment. When his boss complained that these Indians, left on his hands without a foreman, were "maladjusted employees," the counselor decided to have a talk with them. "Who's your chief?" she asked the men who eyed her disdainfully. "Him," they grunted, pointing to one of their group. "Come with me," she commanded the chief. Taking him into her office she inquired about conditions on their Reservation, which she had visited. She discovered that under the C.C.C. program, the chief had directed a project similar to their present work. On the suggestion of the counselor, the supervisor gave the chief some training so that he could take the job of foreman. The Indians went to work with a will. The supervisor wisely ignored complaints that the Indians were loafers because they took their accustomed siestas, dozing in the shade. The work was done in unexpected ways, but the results were, by the highest production standards, excellent. Through the utilization of established group leadership and of partial adjustments already made to work techniques, the productivity of the group was released.<sup>10</sup>

In personnel interviews and questionnaires the assumption was made that capacities were developed through experience. This of course is true. The counselors often found, however, that the individual had been forced into channels of experience which were alien to his native capacity. If he did not harbor a resentment, expressed or unexpressed, at least his productivity was not what it might

have been had his latent capacities been developed. As time passed and experiences based on early training accumulated, an individual found it harder and harder to change to a new occupation related to his undeveloped capacity. On the other hand, if an individual's capacities were related to a form of productivity to which he could readily turn, then he could, in a large organization like the Navy, be helped to make a better job adjustment. In such cases testing pointed the way to a better placement for which adequate re-training could then be provided.<sup>11</sup>

Occasionally an original placement would start the employee on a path from which he did not have the courage to turn back. Such was the case of a high school girl who applied for a job at the Navy Yard where her father worked. The personnel officer, noting her fragile, blond beauty placed her in office work. Her looks made her rapidly upward mobile, although her capacities were unsuited to secretarial work and she was inefficient on the job. In time she became tense and ill. A "fitness-for-duty" examination revealed the fact that she had a high manual dexterity which would have been well-utilized in the Navy Yard, and it was suggested that she transfer. She had, however, come to expect the prestige which manual labor did not provide and she could not turn back.

<sup>11</sup> Robert K. Merton, in his essay on "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," calls attention to another interesting aspect of this problem, "trained incapacity," as follows: "The transition to a study of the negative aspects of bureaucracy is afforded by the application of Veblen's concept of 'trained incapacity,' Dewey's notion of 'occupational psychosis,' or Warnotte's view of 'professional deformation.' 'Trained incapacity' refers to a state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may result in inappropriate responses under changed conditions, as inadequate flexibility in the application of skills will, in a changing milieu, result in more or less serious maladjustments." *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, ed. by Clyde Kluckhohn & Henry A. Murray, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, p. 284.

<sup>10</sup> Many similar problems arising in intercultural adjustments are described by Wilbert Moore in "Primitives and Peasants in Industry," which, although describing conditions of industrialization in Africa and the Orient, aptly applies to many war workers in Washington, D.C. See *Social Research*, March, 1948 (Vol. 15, No. 1), pp. 71-72.

The situation was different in the case of an older woman who on the slightest provocation had temper tantrums. Before coming to the Navy she had worked fifteen years as an accountant, yet the least interruption caused her to make errors. On being referred to the counselor, she stormed into the office, enraged by this latest "insult." When the counselor asked if she would be interested in a different type of job with more money, the act was immediately over. A test revealed that she had very little knowledge of accounting and no aptitude for figures. She did, however, have some skill in writing. Retrained for work of a more congenial type, she soon gained power and her emotional reactions gave way to serenity and poise. The woman had been afraid of her own inadequacy.

Inadequate social behavior on the job was due more often to lack of proper training than to lack of capacity. The employee held responsible for work for which he was not fitted often showed deviant behavior which would entirely disappear when he had gained a mastery of the necessary techniques. Such, for example, was the case of a Negro who had been promoted to foreman of a trucking crew. One day an order was issued that all trucking foremen should make written reports on the work of each day. No secretary was supplied for this paper work. The Negro grew sullen on the job and when his boss called him down for not getting his reports ready as directed, he drew a knife, and told the boss to leave him alone. The boss sent him to the personnel office to be discharged. When the boss talked to the counselor concerning the man, he said ruefully: "I don't know what's gotten into Pete. It must be that city life is demoralizing him. He had liquor on his breath the other day and I warned him that he couldn't head a trucking crew if he drank. The boys say he's playing the horses. He used to be such a fine worker. He knew his job and all the men liked him and would work for him. If you could get him a loan or straighten him out somehow, I'd be glad to take him back, but he can't go on as he is." Pete's version was along the same lines. The boss had it in

for him. Sure, he had been drunk some. His old woman had gone back South and left him alone. Sure he played the horses. A feller had to have some fun. No, he didn't want no loan. He was going to quit. The boss had it in for him and he might as well get work somewhere else.

Reviewing the case slowly, step by step, from the knife-flashing episode back to the time when Pete was doing so well, got his last raise, and enjoyed his job, the counselor discovered that the change took place about the time that the order to make written reports was issued. It soon came to light that Pete could neither read nor write very well. He was ashamed of his lack of learning. The men under him laughed at the scrawl that resulted when Pete took pen in hand. The job was making demands on Pete that he was unable to meet. The counselor sent Pete back to work with instructions to forget the idea that the boss had a grudge against him, which obviously was not true since he was willing to take him back in spite of the knife display. Then she called the boss and suggested that he let the trucking foreman dictate his reports to a secretary, explaining Pete's difficulty. Checking on the situation later, the counselor found that Pete was making a satisfactory recovery. She then called him into the office to tell him where he could get adult night-school training in English and arithmetic so he would not be handicapped for the kind of job he could so well fill.

The block to employee adjustment was often to be found in the situation rather than in the individual. When an employee or a supervisor came to the counselor's office, his own interpretation of the situation was sought. While this was useful, it was rarely adequate. Usually office workers did not blame the job situation but rationalized their own inadequacies in terms of health, home conditions, or financial worries, all socially acceptable explanations. The attitudes which they inadvertently expressed toward the supervisor, fellow workers, or the work itself, however, often revealed factors that had a bearing on the situation.

Adequate supervision was often the

pivotal point in the work situation, recognized as such by the employees. The supervisor had a threefold responsibility: to the work, to the group, and to the employees as individuals. He was primarily overseer of the work: failure to regulate the work flow and operations was a certain way to kill worker morale. If the employee disrupted the work processes or the social interaction of the group by inappropriate behavior, it was the responsibility of the supervisor to take necessary action. If the supervisor felt incompetent or insecure because of his own lack of capacity or training, or behaved on the emotional or artificial role level, giving way to temper, or assuming the father role, he would depress the level of efficiency of his whole work unit. Emotional behavior and the father role belong to the family group, not to industry. It was the supervisor's responsibility to create a co-operative group relationship among productive adults, all striving together toward a socially meaningful goal, a relationship which would develop the morale inherent in the concept of teamwork.<sup>12</sup> The supervisor's most effective contribution to the employee's participation on the job was in providing this type of leadership.<sup>13</sup>

In a fast-changing employment situation, a lag often occurred between the policies and procedures by which both employees and supervisors were bound and the demands of the social situation. One of the functions of the counselors was to note these difficulties and report them so that those in authority could make adjustments. One result of the success of their analyses was that counselors were often consulted in advance on the advisability of new policies and procedures affecting employee welfare. Whenever possible, the counselors referred such questions to em-

ployee organizations for advice and thus became a channel of communication.

In some work units, the presence of cliques made it impossible for employees, and occasionally for supervisors, to become adequately adjusted unless they gained clique acceptance. Some of these cliques represented little more than the efforts of a small group to place its own selfish interests ahead of those of the Navy Department. Although the members of the clique maintained the minimum level of production demanded by organizational standards, they based their security on special privilege rather than on effective productivity. When the clique was supported by higher authority, as was often the case, there was little a counselor could do but note and report the facts of the situation as objectively as possible. Occasionally the clique would try to use the counselor as its tool and threaten to make trouble "higher up," if the counselor did not accede to its desires for the removal of an employee or supervisor. In a few cases, the clique leaders who felt "that they could trust the counselor" made known their own feelings of inadequacy and insecurity in an effort to find some way to make a better adjustment. This could often be effected by helping the leaders to find security through productivity.

The flow of work and communication, or authority, was dependent on structural adequacy, important to employee adjustment. Faulty organization caused frustrations which made productive participation impossible and thus created employee maladjustment.<sup>14</sup> Workers demand sound organizational structure not so much explicitly as implicitly by their low morale.

The situation in the Navy Department was further complicated by the fact that many desirable posts were held or reserved for military personnel. The basis on which the choice was made between military and civilian personnel was not always made clear

<sup>12</sup> See E. W. Bakke, "Teamwork in Industry," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. LXVI, Reprint Series No. 10, New Haven: Yale Labor and Management Center, 1948.

<sup>13</sup> See Rensis Likert, "Supervisory Practices and Organizational Structures as they Affect Employee Productivity and Morale," Personnel Series Number 120, New York: American Management Association, 1948.

<sup>14</sup> See Chester I. Barnard, "Functions and Pathology of Status Systems in Formal Organizations," in *Industry and Society*, ed. by W. F. Whyte, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946, pp. 46-84.



to the workers, with the result that there was undue insecurity among civilians and unnecessary hostility.

The channels of movement of personnel from one level to another in the structural hierarchy of bureaucratic organization needed also to be clearly defined in the interests of employee adjustment. Lack of promotional opportunity was a serious cause of maladjustment for employees conditioned in our school system to expect advancement based on performance. In view of the labor shortage, workers had the opportunity of selecting their jobs, and dead-end positions were difficult to fill. This was especially true in the case of secretaries and telephone operators. The employees requested information concerning the channels of promotional opportunities and the qualifications required for the higher positions. They also sought advice on ways of meeting these qualifications. When this information was available, there were still many workers who were satisfied to remain at the lower levels, but the fact that the situation was clarified seemed to remove a block from their productivity as well as to provide incentive to the more mobile.

The reason some excellent workers did not choose the path of advancement when it was offered to them was that it meant transference from an office in which they had made a satisfactory adjustment. Inquiring into this further, we discovered that one factor influencing employee adjustment was the conviction that their work had social significance.<sup>15</sup> The individual's participation

<sup>15</sup> William McGehee of Marshall Field & Co. Fieldcrest Mills, in an article on "The Research Approach to Training," states that: "Many of us are concerned with the attitudes of our employees both toward our company and toward basic economic and political problems. We find evidences of undesirable attitudes in lowered quantity and quality of production, absenteeism, general indifference toward work, and overt disregard for authority. . . . Increasing evidence indicates that our production problems with employees are related to attitudes rather than to fundamental skills and job knowledge. We waste an enormous amount of money on programs designed to modify employee attitudes if they leave the employee with the feel-

was recognized by others, as well as by himself, as contributing to the common goal of the work unit, and through the unit, to the Navy and to the nation.

Morale is the consciousness on the part of the employee that what he does has social value. High morale is as important to the worker as it is to management because it is the basis for his mental health and often of his physical health. Bad morale may be the cause of ulcers, if the worker can afford the doctor's bill. Without being able to verbalize his own reactions, an employee may therefore choose work in a high morale unit in preference to opportunities for upward mobility.<sup>16</sup>

An unusually large number of the workers coming to Washington during the war were mobile rather than static: they were seeking advancement rather than security. For many clerical workers, enlarging opportunity did not exist unless the worker had a college degree. For some, this created serious frustration. To meet the needs of this group, we developed with the American University what was known as the Navy Work-Study Program.

The University made available a special dormitory and developed a curriculum by which the girls were able to get a B.A. degree in six years while continuing full-time employment in the Navy Department. Their placement was adjusted to their career interests and the curriculum was planned in relation to their work. It was in no sense skills training; it was a general arts education, meeting the standard college requirements. The students carried on their studies around

ing that the boss is trying to pull a fast one again." *New Patterns of Employee Relations*, Personnel Series Number 117, New York: American Management Association, 1948, pp. 37-38.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Rensis Likert states that "all the evidence from these studies and from previous work that we have done indicates the importance of giving people a sense of real participation—not artificial or condescending, but genuine, honest-to-goodness participation, where they are respected as intelligent people who are sincerely trying to do a job." *Personnel Series* Number 120, New York: American Management Association, 1948, pp. 21-22.



the calendar, the costs carried on a budget plan payable every payday. They shared in all the college activities as freely as their schedules permitted. In order to provide a broader orientation than evening classes gave, the University held seminars in which the university professors and key people in government participated. In this and other ways education was related to reality.<sup>17</sup>

At the end of the first year a careful evaluation of the program in view of its objective, namely, better employee adjustment on the job, showed that in all but one case the employee's efficiency had improved markedly. Skeptical supervisors who had been opposed to the program on the grounds that the girls would not be able to do their work if they were studying at night reluctantly admitted that they had worked better under the pressure than before. The chief psychiatrist at the U. S. Public Health Service gave the same report. The program proved sufficiently successful for the U. S. Civil Service Commissioner to request that it be opened to all government employees after the war. It provided what some other work-study programs fail to provide, the realities of a full time self-supporting job combined with a career-related educational curriculum.

One incident demonstrates how the morale of the participants was lifted by interest displayed in their program. Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt spent an evening as the guest of honor at an informal party in their dormitory. In the years before the war the American University students had annually been received at the White House, but this was a very special occasion. Mrs. Roosevelt had just returned from her trip around the world. As she sat before their open fire, she told the girls stories of war life in other countries and of her visit to one of her sons on the fighting front in the South Pacific. She discussed with them the contributions women would probably be called upon to

make in the postwar world. Her personal interest in their work and studies seemed to give the girls a deepened sense of the social value of their own participation in the life of the nation. She came at eight o'clock and it was well after eleven before she rose to leave. It was an unhurried, informal, gracious expression of her interest in the war workers in Washington. As the girls expressed it: "To think that the First Lady was interested enough or cared enough about our Work-Study Program to spend a whole evening out of her busy schedule with us."

The efforts of the Navy counseling program were directed toward the isolation and treatment of those factors in employment which block morale, such as shifts of individuals from one subculture pattern to another, disorganization accompanying the breakdown of sub-culture patterns, the obscuring of the larger group interest by narrow self-interests of small cliques, failure in supervisory leadership, the lack of adequate means of participation in industrial life, the lack of understanding of the demands of the social situation and appreciation of social and individual worth, and failure in the institutional structure to provide for the realization of goals generally accepted in society at large.

Through repeated employee interviews and situational analyses, a pattern of elements essential to individual adjustment became clear. This included: accurate knowledge of the structure of his responsibilities and privileges; opportunity for adequate utilization of basic capacities developed by competent training; a knowledge of the channel of mobility within the structure and of the system of rewards and penalties; impartial treatment, justice within a value system based on productivity; and, finally, social recognition of the values of the job and of the individual's participation in the work situation.<sup>18</sup>

While management engineers planned re-

<sup>17</sup> The first class to enter the Navy Work-Study Program will be graduated in June, 1949. This program has continued since the war with growing popularity.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. E. W. Bakke, *Adaptive Human Behavior*, Reprint Series, No. 4, New Haven: Yale Labor and Management Center, 1948.

organization to effect greater operational efficiency, the counseling service was designed to promote better organization from the point of view of employee morale. These two points of view were harmonized in the common goal of both management and the workers, productivity, which was important to both for psychological as well as economic reasons.

In the research concerning the interaction of the individual and the social situation, carried on through the Counseling Service, industrial society was the frame of reference. While the Counseling Service was developed by the trial and error process, bending to the necessities of each operational situation, certain hypotheses concerning industrial so-

ciety and the individual's adjustment within it emerged as a framework of the program. These, briefly stated, are as follows: in industrial society the individual's basic personality structure is integrated through his productive activity; cultural conditioning in a different sub-culture pattern or in a non-industrial society may block adjustment and prevent adequate social interaction; and the community influences but does not determine the worker's adjustment. The repeated success of the counselors' analyses and recommendations as judged by individual adjustment and by the increased efficiency of the work units suggests the validity of these hypotheses.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS\*

RUDOLF HEBERLE

*Louisiana State University*

### INTRODUCTION

THE EXPERIENCE of two world wars, the revolutions in Russia and Germany thirty years ago, the rise and fall of Mussolini and Hitler, the Civil War in China, the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence into the very heart of Europe and the ensuing tensions between the partisans of capitalism, socialism and communism have aroused an intensified interest in the study of those forces and factors which have contributed to the present crisis of Western society. Among these are, of foremost importance, those patterns of concerted social action and more or less organized groups which are commonly referred to as social and political "movements."

The conventional approach to the study of these phenomena has been a historical and philosophical study of the ideas or

"theories." These were interpreted and analyzed as if they were systems of philosophy; they were submitted to critical evaluation in terms of empirical truth, logical consistency, and ethical standards. Not much attention was paid to the meaning of these ideas to the masses of people who made up the movement or party, or to the social structure of these groups, or to related problems of sociological relevance.

In more recent years, however, these neglected aspects have received more attention. This, I believe, is due, apart from the influence of mass and crowd psychology, to the example of the sociology of political parties, which began with the study of the caucus and boss rule and seems to have been stimulated by the discovery of oligarchic tendencies even in parties standing for democracy<sup>1</sup> and by the observation of similarities in structure and in tactics between

\*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.

<sup>1</sup>Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, new ed. of transl., The Free Press, 1949.

the Communist and the Fascist parties and regimes.

The methods which have been used in this field can also be applied in the study of social movements. In doing this we are aiming at the development of a comparative, systematic theory of social movements within a more comprehensive system of political sociology.

The main justification for this undertaking is that movements with very different aims and doctrines have many traits in common in regard to organization, structure, and tactics, just as modern political parties, irrespective of their programs, have certain traits in common. Furthermore, it is well recognized that movements which aim at comprehensive and radical changes in the order of a society spring up in certain typical situations, a fact which permits making certain generalizations concerning their "causation."

It is a difficult field in which little systematic theoretical work has been done.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The present state of sociological literature on this matter in this country may be indicated by the fact that there are, so far as I know, only three or four recent books which attempt a more or less comprehensive treatment of social movements.

About twenty years ago Professor Jerome Davis of Yale wrote what he thought was "the first textbook on modern social movements to be published in America" (*Contemporary Social Movements*, p. ix, 1930). It was and still is a very useful collection of documents, sources and readings on Socialism, Communism, Fascism, the co-operative movement, the British Labor Movement with side glances at the Labor Movement in U.S.A.; but it begins with six chapters on Utopias and concludes with several chapters on the Peace Movement—a somewhat incongruous selection. There is also an introduction in which the author develops some general principles concerning the origin and development of social movements, leadership and social control, and a great deal of connecting text between the readings. In all fairness to the author it must be said that he does not give a comprehensive, methodical, comparative sociological analysis of social movements, nor was it his intention to do this.

Harry W. Laidler's *Social-Economic Movements* (1946) is a useful reference book on Socialism and the Socialist movement, including Syndicalism and Communism, but it contains very little information on organization, structure, tactics, leadership

And yet it is a field in which we can lean not only on a vast literature but also on one of the oldest traditions in our science. In fact, it may be claimed that the study of social movements has been one of the origins of sociology.

France has been the classical field for the study of social movements. The Great Revolution itself in its various phases and the subsequent revolutions and counter-revolutions, each accompanied by a change in the form of government, inevitably gave incentive to inquiries into the causes of such changes and therefore led to the development of general theories on the structure and change of society. But France also had become, by 1830, the breeding ground of Socialistic and Communistic theories. A century will have passed this year since a German scholar, Lorenz von Stein, in his

and other sociologically relevant aspects, nor does Laidler attempt an analysis of the societal origins and the socio-psychological foundations of those movements.

The latter are the central subject in Hadley Cantril's *Psychology of Social Movements*, 1941. This, however, is a series of case studies rather than a systematic comparative theory of social movements. The selection of "cases" (the Lynching Mob, the Kingdom of Father Divine—a religious sect—the Oxford group, the Townsend Plan and the Nazi Party), while useful for the author's purposes, is inadequate from a sociological point of view; there is not enough on the organization and structure of the movements and no methodical consideration of their relations to political parties.

The fourth book that comes closest to the type of approach I have in mind is Sigmund Neumann's *Permanent Revolution*, 1942—an excellent study of Fascism and Nazism with side-glances at Russian Communism and Western democracy. It deals with the institutions of regimes as well as with the dynamics of the political movements.

For a survey of American Ph.D. theses on social movements see: Paul Meadows "Theses on Social Movements," *Social Forces*, Vol. 24, May 1946, pp. 408-412; also references to articles by Meadows, *ibid.*

A report on undergraduate studies in this field is given in J. Stewart Burgess, "The Study of Modern Social Movements as a Means for Clarifying the Process of Social Action" *Social Forces*, vol. 22, March, 1944.

See also Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements" in Robert E. Park (ed.), *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1939 and 1946.

*Geschichte der Socialen Bewegung Frankreichs seit 1789*, expressed the idea that these "Social Theories" were no longer of significance, except as "indications and fore-runners of impending greater developments" (edition of 1855, p. vi). What really matters will, from now on, be the actual movements of the proletariat, which Stein calls *The Social Movement*. The purpose of Stein's work is to analyze the causation and development of this movement and to show that ways and means of integrating the proletariat into society must be found, if a "social" revolution much more catastrophic than the previous "political" revolution of the bourgeoisie is to be forestalled. Reform and revolution are thus presented as alternative ways of adjusting the form of government and the legal order to the changing order of society. The social movement, in other words, needs not to culminate in a revolution (p. lxxii, also p. cxxiv ff.).<sup>3</sup>

Stein was already well known as the author of the first comprehensive work on Socialism and Communism in France, which was published in 1842 and must have had influence upon Karl Marx.<sup>4</sup> In this work Stein had treated those doctrines in the conventional way, analyzing them like systems of philosophy. But already in the second edition, which appeared in the fateful year of 1848 Stein made the remarkable statement that the real significance of Socialism and Communism is to induce inquiries into the concept and nature of society.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the later work begins with an introduction entitled "The Concept

of Society and the Law of its Movement" which is a small book in itself. Here we find a theory of revolution, as distinguished from other anti-authoritarian actions, and a distinction between various types of revolution. Here we also find a very realistic analysis of the class structure of modern Western society and the struggle of classes for power.

The significance of Stein's ideas for our discussion lies in two points: (1) he makes a clear conceptual distinction between the theoretical systems or doctrines on the one hand, and the actual social movement on the other hand, and (2) he ascribes to the study of *The Social Movement* a central place in his system of sociology. Not only is the emergence of *The Social Movement* given as the reason why a science of society is needed, but Stein's entire system is really built around the analysis of the origin and movements of the social classes and their influence upon the forms of government.<sup>6</sup> In developing these principles, Stein set the pattern which all the outstanding sociological treatises on Socialism and Communism were going to follow, and Karl Marx's designation of all those systems as "Utopian" which did not relate the ideal of a communistic society to the emancipation of the proletariat is very likely also a fruit of Stein's work. As late as 1919 Werner Sombart, who in the past 50 years has been one of the outstanding authorities in this field, defined Socialism (and Communism) as the intellectual-spiritual expressions of the Modern Social Movement, and the latter as the synthesis (*Inbegriff*) of all emancipation efforts of the proletariat, as the practical attempts to realize the ideal goal of socialism.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE CONCEPT: "SOCIAL MOVEMENT"— THE STRUCTURAL ASPECTS

From this tradition we can retain the idea that a genuine social movement is an attempt

<sup>3</sup> This is not the place to discuss Stein's critique of Socialism and Communism or his own program of social reform, although it would be interesting enough in the light of later developments in Germany and in regard to the present situation in U.S.A. See Heinz Nitzschke, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Lorenz von Steins*, Munich Berlin, 1932, and Gottfried Salomon's "Vorwort" in Lorenz von Stein, *Geschichte der Socialen Bewegung Frankreichs*, ed. by G. Salomon, Munich 1921.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs*, second edition, Leipzig, 1848. About Marx's relation to Stein see: Heinz Nitzschke *op. cit.*, p. 135ff.

<sup>5</sup> P. vii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cxxx.

<sup>7</sup> Werner Sombart, *Sozialismus und Soziale Bewegung*, 1919, pp. 1, 11. See also his later work: *Der Proletarische Sozialismus*, Jena, 1925.



of certain groups to bring about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic institutions of property and labor relationships. We can also retain the close affiliation to social classes. But no longer can we identify the concept of social movement with the proletarian movement. The very existence of Fascism and its derivations forbids it; and there are also the nativistic movements in the colonial possessions of European powers, the peasant movements in Eastern Europe and the farmers' movements in this country which have to be given consideration. And we also need a concept that can be applied to social movements in pre-capitalistic societies and periods.

Clearly, a revision of the concept is needed. We are, however, not concerned about a hard and fast taxonomic classification of patterns of concerted social action into "movements" and "non-movements." Our concern is to find those characteristics essential in social movements of major importance which serve us as prototypes and to develop, rather than define, a type concept.

In constructing this concept, I shall emphasize that social movements are a particular kind of social group. This may not be the most common way of perceiving these phenomena, but to me it seems to be the sociologically relevant aspect. I consider social movements as a species of "social collectives" (Tönnies); these are unorganized, or as we shall see, only partly organized groups, yet large enough to persist even if old members drop out and new members enter.

All the Western languages use the metaphoric term "movement" for the phenomenon which we want to define: "Soziale Bewegung," "mouvement social," "sociala rörelse," etc. The connotation is that there is a commotion, a stirring among the people, an unrest, a desire to approach a visualized goal. A "movement" therefore is a collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation to be made, or a previous condition to be restored.

If we posit as an essential characteristic

of a social movement direct orientation toward a change in the social order, that is, in the patterns of human relations, in social institutions and social norms, we can exclude a large number of phenomena which have some similarity to social movements but are concerned with the propagation of a new style in art, a new health fad and similar innovations which have no immediate social relevance.

We further maintain that mere like sentiments and like actions which occur independently among a large number of people do not constitute a movement; nor does mere imitative mass-action. A sense of group identity and solidarity is required: only when the acting individuals have become aware of the fact that they have social sentiments and goals in common and when they think of themselves as being united with each other in action for a common goal do we acknowledge the existence of a social movement. The theoretical problem is very similar to that of determining the characteristics of a fully developed social class: the "consciousness of class" among people in like class position is what really constitutes a class as a social entity.

Of course, any social movement has gone through initial stages where these conditions were only partly fulfilled. Thus, it may for example be doubtful whether there is a Negro movement in this country. However, the various endeavors to improve the social status of Negroes show many analogies to the early phases of other kinds of social movements.\*

\* Since about seven out of ten male Negroes in the labor force are wage earners one is tempted to say that the Negro's struggle is practically part of the labor movement. A very large proportion of the Negro workers are, however, not employed in capitalistic enterprises (e.g., the domestic servants and many agricultural workers) and therefore not proletarians in the technical sense. The analogy with the early phases of the labor movement lies in the importance of local and individual action and in the presence of white sponsors in many organized groups working for the improvement of the Negro's lot. There are, however, in the situation of the American Negro also some striking analogies to the situation of



There arises the question: how comprehensive a "program" must a movement have in order to be considered as a genuine social movement? To this we merely answer: the more comprehensive, the more will it conform to the ideal type. The problem is similar to that of distinguishing a political party from a mere "pressure group": a party is bound to have a program or platform which gives consideration to all important political issues, while a "pressure group" may be formed for a specific, limited purpose. It is true that political groups have been formed which under the name of a party represented merely the interests of real estate owners or vegetarians, but no successful and lasting party has ever been formed without a comprehensive political program.<sup>9</sup> A social movement therefore is bound to develop not merely an "economic" or a "political" program but one which concerns all important socially relevant issues.

Another question that may be raised concerns the duration of a movement: are short-lived group actions, such as a "wildcat strike," a race riot or a *coup d'état* to be considered social movements? It seems that the characteristics of comprehensiveness in aim, of orientation towards a new social order, and of intensity of we-feeling would lead to a negative conclusion.

We may refer here to the recent experience of the Resistance movements in various countries, composed of men and women of different political tendencies who were united in the common fight against Nazi and Fascist rule; they were really only temporary alliances which tended to break up as soon as the objective of liberation had been achieved. Had the German Opposition to Hitler not been crushed after the un-

successful *coup d'état* of July 20, 1944, it could not possibly have held together for any length of time after an overthrow of the Hitler regime. However this is not to say that short-lived movements are not phenomena worthy of study; on the contrary, because of their simplicity a great deal can be gained from studying them for an understanding of social movements in the strict sense. Besides, strikes, riots, *coups d'état* and similar kinds of short-lived group action do occur within the framework of social movements. In fact they are usually among the first symptoms of social unrest, and they form part of the "tactical" devices.

The concept of social movement will gain further in clarity when we determine the distinctions and relations between social movements and political parties. No clear distinction between the two types of groups can be made if one accepts the older concept of a party which received its classical definition by Burke as "a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed."<sup>10</sup> By this definition the two major parties in the United States would of course not be political parties at all. And political parties according to this definition would be identical with political movements. It would be more realistic to define political party as a group of people who "propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power."<sup>11</sup>

The uniting or binding factor in a party may either be a set of political principles in which all members are agreed, or it may be a complex of common "interests" or simply the desire to secure offices and patronage for members of the group, or it may be an emotional-affectual attachment to a leader of real or imagined extraordinary qualifications.<sup>12</sup> Genuine social movements on the

national minorities in Eastern Europe before and immediately after the first world war.

<sup>9</sup> See Schattschneider, "Pressure Groups," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 1948. The author very adroitly states that parties mobilize majorities, while pressure groups organize minorities. Also: MacIver, "Pressure Groups" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

<sup>10</sup> Edmund Burke, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, Cambridge University Press, edition, 1930, p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 1942, p. 283.

<sup>12</sup> See Max Weber's excellent discussion in *The*

other hand are always integrated by a set of constitutive ideas, although the elements of patronage and leadership are by no means absent.

By definition a party must be related to a larger social entity, typically a corporate group. Parties can appear in all kinds of corporate groups, as Max Weber points out, but by definition a political party can exist only within a state. This is an essential characteristic which distinguishes a party from a social movement; the latter needs not be restricted to a particular state or national society.

However, the appearance of international federations of political parties like the Second and Third International which belong to the same social-political movement constitutes one of the most serious political problems in a world society of national states. The phenomenon is related to that of the "ultramontane" orientation of Catholic parties.<sup>13</sup>

Burke, in the context mentioned above, makes a very important statement about political parties: "Without a proscription of others, they are bound to give to their own party the preference in all things; and by no means, for private considerations, to accept any offers of power in which the whole body is not included." The main intention of this remark was, of course, to give strength to the emerging institution of parliamentary government; but by implication Burke also takes the position that a party is to consider itself as part of a larger whole, that it has to recognize legitimate opposition and competition from other parties—a criterion which also enters into Schumpeter's

concept. The new totalitarian "parties" do not correspond to this concept in so far as they are very definitely bent upon the "proscription of others." It may very well be that under the impact of such movements, parties in the traditional sense will go out of existence in a large part of the world and be replaced by new kinds of groups for which we have no better term than that of "political order," as they show strong resemblance to certain militant religious orders.

Parties in the broadest sense of the term are not always organized bodies, nor are all individuals who consider themselves as supporters of a political party necessarily members of a formally organized group. However, the two main functions of a political party in a modern state make some kind of organization necessary. The preparation of bills in the legislature, the nomination of candidates, the mobilization of voters require delegation of certain powers to individuals who can act as agents for the group and also require some ways of enforcing discipline among members.

This necessity increases with the size of the party, and that again is largely a consequence of the extension of the franchise. As long as only relatively few, and mostly wealthy and educated people, voted, a party could rely on the existing ties of kinship, neighborhood, and friendship. This became impossible with the expansion of the electorate. The general trend therefore has been from informal and often short-lived groupings towards more and more elaborate formal organization, culminating in such highly bureaucratized party organizations as the German Social Democratic Party and in highly complex and integrated structures like the Fascist Parties.

A movement on the other hand is by definition an unorganized group, a "social collective," as Tönnies calls those groups which are large enough to persist and retain their identity in spite of turnover in membership and yet are lacking designated organs, being held together by sentiments and common interests rather than by insti-

*Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 407 ff.

<sup>13</sup> The ultramontanism of the Zentrum (Center Party) in Germany was one of the major points in Nazi propaganda. The National Socialists themselves, however, committed the same sin against nationalism by creating affiliated national-socialist parties in various European countries. The substitution of the "Ethnic community" idea for the nation idea facilitated these "fifth column" activities.

tutionalized social controls.<sup>14</sup> The National Socialists, for example, made a distinction between the NSDAP, which was a registered, incorporated association, and the "movement" which included all followers of Adolf Hitler, irrespective of party membership.<sup>15</sup>

The empirical interrelations between the two types of groups are manifold and often complex. The following four can be discerned as basic types:

1. A party can be part of a broader social movement, like the Socialist labor parties which form one of the branches of the labor movement; or
2. It may be independent from a particular movement and embody eventually in its membership in whole or in part several social movements; this has been the tendency in the major American parties; or
3. The same social movement may be represented in several different political parties: e.g., the proletarian movement in the Socialistic and Communistic parties, the Socialist Movement in various political parties.
4. Finally, a social movement may reject on principle the affiliation with any political party, as for example the anarcho-syndicalistic movement or the I.W.W.

As a rule, a major social movement tends to form its own political party or at least to affiliate itself with an existing party.

There are also likely to be other formally

organized groups comprised within a social movement, because concerted action of large numbers of individuals is not possible without delegation of certain functions to certain individuals who can act as "organs" of the group. Sometimes these organized groups are attached to a political party as "affiliated" and "auxiliary" organizations, like the youth organizations in political movements; sometimes they are formally and perhaps even de facto independent of the party, like the trade unions and consumers' cooperatives in some European labor movements. Sometimes the two types of groups, although not formally interrelated, may be tightly interlocked through double memberships and through the occupation of controlling positions in one organization by leaders in the other.<sup>16</sup>

Trade unions are always faced with the problem whether they shall affiliate themselves with one particular party or whether they shall leave the individual members completely free to cast their vote according to their own judgment. The former way is hard on individual workers who are loyal trade unionists but either not socialists at all or not supporters of the majority Socialist party.<sup>17</sup> The latter leads to the policy of endorsement by the union of labor's friends among the candidates, but it also means that the unions lend their support to parties over whose policies they have no final control. Harold Laski in his *American Democracy* urges the labor unions to form something like the British labor party. The two large federations of unions, however, have announced that they will continue the policy of endorsing labor's friends regardless of party affiliation but intend to intensify the political education of their members. It

<sup>14</sup>This was the predominant conception of "movement" within the German Youth Movement; the Wandervogel and other groups objected to elaborate formal organization which they considered to be the characteristic of the Youth Guidance groups which they opposed.

<sup>15</sup>It is significant that in national socialist treatises on parties one can find such remarks as: movements become parties unwillingly through participation in parliamentary work. This obviously betrays syndicalistic contempt for rational debate and deliberation and a preference for direct action. See Hans Fritz Roeder, *Parteien und Parteienstaat in Deutschland*, Munich, 1920.

<sup>16</sup>This was the essential device of coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of all kinds of associations with the NSDAP after the seizure of power, but it was also a device of penetration or infiltration before that time.

<sup>17</sup>This has been a major problem in the Swedish labor movement. See R. Heberle, *Zur Geschichte der Arbeiter-Bewegung in Schweden*, Jena, 1925, for a detailed discussion.

seems to me that this course takes into account the strong traditionalistic ties and the importance of patronage in both parties, which so far have been a main hindrance to all attempts to launch a third party.

In addition, there will be found numerous small informal groups, such as friendship circles, luncheon and dinner clubs, cliques, personal followings of outstanding leaders, etc., many of whom may be very important in the actual functioning of the movement.<sup>18</sup>

These "structural" aspects—and there are many more—deserve certainly more attention than they usually receive. I believe, for instance, that our Denazification policy in Germany could have been more effective had it been based upon more thorough knowledge and understanding of the structure of the Hitler movement. Or, to take another example, we should realize that the labor movement, especially in European countries but also in some sections of the U.S.A., has grown into a complex structure of separate but interrelated organized and unorganized groups which form the institutional framework for a large part of the modern worker's life, not only in the shop or office but also in his leisure time. These facts have to be taken into account when one attempts to understand what a movement means to its participants. In many cases the "movement" has taken the place of the gemeinschaft-like groups which were so abundant in pre-industrial society.

The analysis of structure and organization, which has been intentionally emphasized in this paper, has of course to be complemented by inquiries into the ideologies, the tactics, the socio-psychic foundations and "texture"<sup>19</sup> of a movement. All these

aspects are closely interrelated among each other and with structure. The nature of the final objectives, the role which the organized cadres of the movement are to play in the future social order, and the ways and means by which the goal is to be reached—all these traits will be reflected in the structure and organization of the movement.<sup>20</sup>

In the study of ideologies considerable refinement of methods has been attained during the past half-century, largely through the sociology of knowledge and the theory of the political "myth."<sup>21</sup> No longer do we judge the social effectiveness of ideas by standards of logical consistency or empirical truthfulness. We have learned through bitter experience that even absurd and scientifically refutable ideas can become immensely effective tools in arousing men into action and in building up sentiments of solidarity and loyalty.<sup>22</sup>

munity (*Gemeinschaft*) and association (society) can be very usefully applied.

<sup>18</sup> Observe for example the differences in the structure and organization of the Social Democratic and the Communist movements, or the difference between the traditional craft unions and the I.W.W.

<sup>21</sup> In view of the tendency among contemporary writers to use the term "myth" indiscriminately in reference to various kinds of beliefs concerning social and political matters, it seems advisable to draw attention to Sorel's original theory. In *Reflexions sur la violence* (ed. 1907, pp. 32-33) Sorel says: "The men who participate in the great social movements represent to themselves their future action in the form of visions of battle ('images de batailles') assuring themselves of the triumph of their cause. I proposed to give the name 'myths' to these constructions, the knowledge of which offers so much of importance to the historian: The general strike of the syndicalists and the catastrophic revolution of Marx are myths." . . . The full meaning of the concept can of course only be understood by knowing Sorel's use of it in his critique of democratic Socialism and of bourgeois society.

<sup>22</sup> We are in our days of social-psychology and propaganda technique confronted with the experience of purposively manufactured ideologies of the Fascist and Nazi type, consisting of ideas which are often not believed in by those who propagate them, nor shared by all who call themselves members or followers of the movement in question.

In a case like this, the simple device of asking members of the movement what they see in it,

<sup>18</sup> As examples may serve: The "Christlich-Teutsche Tischgesellschaft" which played an important role in the Prussian resistance against Napoleon I, and, more recently, the "Mittwochsgesellschaft" to which belonged General Beck and other leaders of the German opposition to Hitler.

<sup>19</sup> I am using the term "texture" in order to denote the quality of sociopsychic interrelations between members of a group which are partly a consequence of the prevailing attitudes of the individuals to the group. Here the concepts of com-

a social  
of large  
le with-  
certain  
of the  
groups  
as "af-  
ms, like  
move-  
ly and  
of the  
sumers'  
move-  
groups,  
may be  
member-  
of con-  
ion by  
with the  
them-  
whether  
members  
ording  
way is  
e loyal  
lists at  
socialist  
policy of  
friends  
ms that  
es over  
control.  
ocracy  
nothing  
o large  
ve an-  
policy  
less of  
ify the  
ers. It

dination  
ms with  
it was  
before

Swedish  
schichte  
1925,



As sociologists we are primarily interested in studying the ways in which ideas are accepted by the masses and the extent to which they became "constitutive" values<sup>23</sup> in social movements.

#### RELATION TO SOCIAL CLASSES

It is generally recognized, as mentioned before, that the chances of an idea to become part of the creed of a mass movement depend not so much upon its intrinsic value as upon its appeal to the interests, sentiments, and resentments of certain strata and groups. This again will largely depend on constellations of several factors which may vary greatly in the course of time and from place to place.

The particular significance of an appeal to a certain social class or classes is now generally recognized. It has its explanation in the fact that major social and political changes will always affect the distribution of the societal income and wealth and thereby induce changes in the relative power position of the classes to one another. Social movements, even if not primarily concerned with the welfare of a particular class, are therefore as a rule closely affiliated to certain social classes and opposed by others.

However, it has been maintained that in this country sectional conflicts have been more important in the formation of political alignments than have class antagonisms.<sup>24</sup> This, I believe, is a kind of optical illusion, caused by an inadequate conception of the nature of social classes. In the analysis of the interrelation between social classes,

what induced them to join it, may result merely in the reproduction of the official propaganda line of the movement. It seems to me that this may have happened in the case of Prof. Abel's study of the Hitler movement which has been one of the main sources for Hadley Cantril's socio-psychological analysis of Nazism.

<sup>23</sup>I owe this concept to Ernst Jurkat, *Das Soziologische Wertproblem*, Phil. Diss., Kiel, ca. 1930.

<sup>24</sup>A. N. Holcombe, *Political Parties of Today*, New York, 1926; also his later book: *The Middle Classes in American Politics*. Stuart Rice, *Quantitative Methods in Politics*, 1928, esp. pp. 125-135, 154.

socio-political movements and parties, not much can be achieved by the use of the popular, but pre-sociological notions of upper, middle and lower classes. These mean one thing in one community and other things in others. What we need are concrete class concepts; even a broad concept like "the farmers" will not do for our purposes. Farmers in the U.S.A. fall into quite a large number of economic classes: e.g., ranchers, planters, sharecroppers, commercial family farmers, self-sufficient farmers, etc. Each of these have specific economic interests and constitute at the same time quite distinct social classes between which there is little intermarriage or other social intercourse. It so happens that frequently rather large areas are inhabited by one subclass of farmers, whose political tendencies may vary from those in adjoining areas where a different subclass predominates. This creates the illusion of sectionalism.<sup>25</sup> Similar considerations apply to the class differentiations between "big business" and "small business," commercial and manufacturing entrepreneurs and so forth. Even among wage earners we should distinguish between those employed in capitalistic enterprises (the "proletariat" in the technical sense) and those in other kinds of employment. The former are likely to be more "class conscious" and therefore inclined to be politically more radically opposed to the dominant classes than the latter.<sup>26</sup>

The "white collar workers" or salaried

<sup>25</sup> Compare my *From Democracy to Nazism*, 1945, especially the chapter on Ecology of Political Parties, where I have shown that "sectional" variations in political behavior are essentially conditioned by variations in the class structure of rural society.

<sup>26</sup> See for instance Dewey Anderson and Percy E. Davidson *Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle*, 1943, pp. 119 f. and 136. A recent unpublished study by Samuel A. Pratt under the direction of professor Charles P. Loomis at Michigan State College has shown that wage earners in certain "light" and small scale industries in Germany were in the election of 1932 less inclined to vote Communistic than wage earners in the "heavy" and large scale industries.

employees are of course not a group of homogeneous class position although the majority of them in the more highly industrialized areas tend more and more to take the side of labor.

The correlation between classes, parties and movements is sometimes obscured by two phenomena which occur particularly in times when the established structure of a society is crumbling. One is the emergence of "deserters" from the ruling classes as leaders in revolutionary movements.<sup>27</sup> The other is the development of activist counter-revolutionary movements and parties whose initial support comes from the "déclassés": discharged soldiers without a vocation, bankrupt farmers, and other individuals whose career plans are thwarted or who have lost their former social position (e.g., the Fascists and early Nazis).

Other factors, e.g., religious objections to the ideas of a movement or party, the memory of past historical experiences, the degree of social integration through kinship and neighborhood relations in the community may "disturb" the expected correlation. "Quantitative" studies have to be carefully planned with regard to the configurations of these factors in each area, or their findings are bound to be misleading.

Since the social stratification in this country is much less complex than in Europe, since class lines and class consciousness are not so clearly developed, and finally since the major party-forming issues in the past have been conflicts within the bourgeoisie or middle class<sup>28</sup> rather than between major classes, it is much more difficult to analyze the relations between classes, movements, and parties in the U.S.A. than it would be in most European

countries, where each of the major social classes stands for a different ideal social system<sup>29</sup> and consequently is likely to align itself with that party whose political philosophy comes closest to this ideal.

The relation between social movements and social classes is then, like that between classes and parties and parties and movements, not one of coincidence or identity but of overlapping and more or less close association. Furthermore, these relations should not be considered as static but rather as constantly changing as the movement grows or declines.

Social movements, like political parties, have the incidental, but sociologically important function of contributing to the formation of the political élite. As an example we may refer again to the trade unions. While their immediate aims have been improvements in the conditions of life and labor for their members, they have been a training ground for a new élite which in our era has contributed a very considerable number of statesmen in all the European countries and in the United Nations organization. But these distinguished leaders are only a very small part of the larger élite which is constantly being created in the labor movement, from the "Local" up to the "International." A hundred years ago Lorenz Stein thought that the proletariat would not be capable of ruling because its leaders lacked experience which, he believed, came only with the responsibilities involved in property ownership; he could not, of course, foresee that the "Social Movement" would itself become a training ground for leadership.

One can even go further and show that the movement has changed the character of the class, by endowing the workers with pride in their own institutions, by training the masses for political action, by improving their understanding of economic and political issues—in short, by integrating them into the (national) community. Furthermore, as the labor movement gains in

<sup>27</sup> A. Meusel, "Die Abtrünnigen," in *Koelner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*, III, 1923.

<sup>28</sup> In the United States most of the farmers belong to this class. In Europe one can—or could at least until ten years ago—distinguish "capitalistic" farmers, peasants and grand-seigneurs or Landedeute, the latter two tending to adhere to pre-capitalistic values and often supporting anti-capitalistic movements.

<sup>29</sup> Sombart, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

strength and grows into a complex network of organized groups and institutions it attracts individuals from other classes—especially from among the intellectuals, who devote their work to the service of the movement as lawyers, journalists, artists, educators, research workers, even as organizers and as managers of various enterprises. The labor movement of today consists no longer of proletarians who have “nothing to loose but their chains.”

The term *élite*, of course, has to be taken in a neutral, technical sense because the quality of an *élite* can rarely be measured objectively. However, we have witnessed in the Nazi movement the rise of an *élite* which appeared to be the product of counter-selection. An attempt to analyze and explain this phenomenon would go far beyond the scope of this paper. It would lead us into the field of psychopathology and psychiatry on the one hand and into philosophical anthropology on the other. Apparently the processes of selection of the *élite* in a “political order” under charismatic leadership and a distorted scale of basic values resulted in bringing to the fore types of men who were not only morally inferior but also incapable of solving the political, administrative and military problems which the movement itself had created.

In thus evaluating a social movement we are moving on to treacherous ground, where passion and prejudice threaten to dim the objectivity of our judgment. We can, however, take certain steps within the sphere of objective inquiry: we can attempt to understand what the movement means to the participants and supporters. One way of achieving this is to analyze the patterns of thought which are developed in defense of the movement: the claim of return to an original superior order of society as well as the belief that the movement serves social progress, and similar patterns.<sup>30</sup>

This approach has to be complemented by an inquiry into the attitudes and thought

patterns of rejection on the part of those classes whose social position is threatened by the movement: the rejection of the final goal, the condemnation of the tactics, or the charge of biological, moral and social inferiority of its supporters.<sup>31</sup>

Another approach is to observe and interpret the conduct of the members of the movement, their attitudes towards each other and to outsiders. This is particularly important since, as we all should know, a social or political creed can assume the role of a pseudo-religion,<sup>32</sup> that is to say, participation in its propagation can replace, functionally, the genuine religious experiences, and the movement may in its earlier phases assume the functional role of a sect and later that of a church.

But even where quasi-religious traits are lacking we may find that the movement owes its strength to factors which could not be inferred from the proclaimed ideology. The routinization of daily work, the lack of intimate group life, the inactivity of the rank-and-file in many large scale organized groups certainly contribute to the growth of the more militant movements. Individuals react of course differently to those conditions, but many, and particularly those who are lacking “inner resources” or other intimate social relationships, rejoice at the opportunity of devoting themselves to an activist movement which “claims the entire man.”

Even the less militant movements tend to develop into social systems which provide a new framework of existence. We can see this especially in the labor movement as we pointed out before. A complex of groups and institutions has developed which serve as substitutes for the lost primary groups of a pre-industrial society; the union hall replaces the guild hall or the village inn and the court-house square, and so forth. These effects were of course not intended by the founders of labor unions and labor parties. We are here, as so often in the study of social movements, confronted with the phe-

<sup>30</sup> See A. Meusel, “Vom Sinn der Sozialen Bewegungen,” *Kölner Vjh. f. Soz.*, 1925.

<sup>31</sup> Meusel, *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> cf. Eric Voegelin, *Die politischen Religionen*.

nomenon which Wilhelm Wundt called the "Heterogonie der Zwecke."

Another problem, entirely different from the first and yet related to the same facts, is that of the evaluation of the objective merits of the movement. That of course leads to a consideration of the value of the values of the movement. Here we have to distinguish again between essential or constitutive values and non-essential values. And we are no longer concerned with the sociopolitical effectiveness of the movement but with its intrinsic ethical value. Clearly here

we are touching upon the limits of empirical social theory. We recognize the transcendental nature of basic values. That, however, does not mean that we have to resign ourselves to a relativistic neutrality. We can, empirically, ascertain whether and to what extent the constitutive values of the movement are in accord with or in contradiction to those basic transcendental values which constitute the essence of our own culture and society.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See Alfred Weber, *Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte*, Zurich, 1946.

## FACTORS SUSTAINING THE BIRTH RATE\*

T. J. WOOFER

THE RECENT dramatic reversal of the long-time decline in the birth rate indicates that the forces sustaining it have at least temporarily overbalanced the forces depressing it. The native-white gross reproduction rate declined from nearly 160 in 1915 to 104 in 1936, and then climbed rapidly to 159 in 1947, thus regaining most of the ground lost in the previous 20 years (Chart 1). Continuance of the low rate of 1936 would have caused a decrease in the population in a few decades; continuance of the high rate of 1947 would cause an increase of over 45 per cent in a generation. A similar reversal is taking place in many other nations whose birth rate was formerly declining. This has been the subject of much study and speculation. Is the interruption temporary, or is the trend changing its slope, if not its direction? The high proportion of first births in recent years indicates that, in large measure, the recent rise has been compensating for past deficiencies and possibly borrowing from the future. No one expects the birth rates in the United States to remain at the high level of the middle 1940's. On the other hand, it is debatable as to

whether they will soon return to the abnormally low levels of the 1930's. The future trends will be closely watched and the underlying forces carefully analyzed. This should be a fruitful field of research in the near future.

It is not the function of this article to predict the future. We shall attempt to point out the characteristics of some of the factors which have operated in the past to bring about changes in fertility and which will probably dominate future changes.

### FAMILY LIMITATION

It is generally agreed that the spread of the practice of family limitation has been the principal cause of the decline in the birth rate. When all of the couples who desire to limit the size of their families have access to and knowledge to use contraceptive devices successfully, its effect on further reduction in the birth rate will have been stabilized. Whether we are approaching such a point when the spread of family limitation is beginning to show diminishing returns is not known. Deductive reasoning, however, indicates that this is a possibility. This reasoning is as follows: Although family limitation has been crudely practiced for centuries, it is only in recent decades that techniques

\* Paper given at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 1, 1949.



have been greatly improved and the knowledge of these techniques has spread to new areas and new classes of society. In other words, the spread of effective family control may be subdivided into (a) the improvement of techniques, (b) the spread of techniques to new areas, and (c) the spread to different

new classes has also proceeded fairly rapidly. Scattered studies indicate that a large proportion of the population is now planning family size with reasonable success. Spearheaded by the early propaganda of the Birth Control League a half century ago, the diffu-

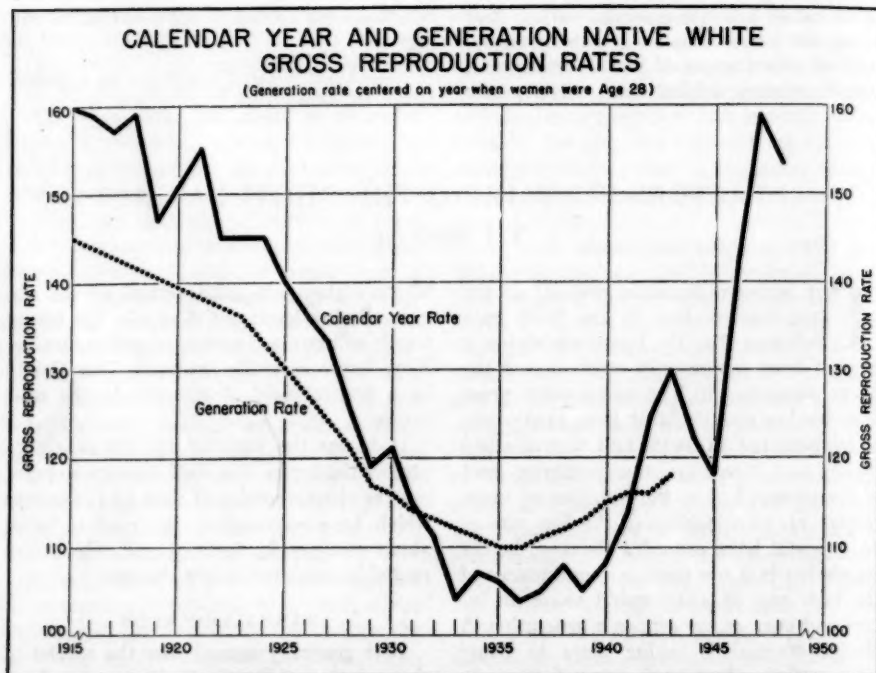


CHART 1. Calendar Year and Generation Native White Gross Reproduction Rates.

classes of society. Improvement of techniques has been substantial in the past 30 years. Much research has been devoted to this question by private investigators and more recently by large manufacturing drug-gists. It has reached the point that, although available techniques are far from perfect, even the imperfect techniques available usually work when intelligently used. Whether or not the result of the application of modern technology is slowing down depends upon whether new basic discoveries are probable.

sion has been carried on by an increasing proportion of practicing physicians, increasing numbers of people who obtain premarital advice, the rising level of education, and the appearance in numbers of places of clinics. One of the powerful forces in eliminating regional differences has been the large-scale migration of the past three decades, especially rural-urban migration. These effects of migration are also probably operating at a slower pace, since such a large proportion of the Nation's population is already urbanized

and since modern transportation and communication have reduced rural-urban differentials.

Analysis of the experience of a sample population in Indianapolis, composed of couples who were white Protestants with more than eight grades of schooling, indicated that about 90 per cent had attempted family limitation at some time.<sup>1</sup> While not all elements of the population would yield so high a percentage, it would appear that knowledge is sufficiently widespread for a very high percentage of couples to avail themselves of it if they desire, and that a high percentage actually do so.

When the diffusion of a trait has proceeded to the point where a large proportion of the population possesses the trait, the successive increases have a smaller and smaller effect upon the relative prevalence of the trait. We may, therefore, deduce that, barring some radical improvement in techniques, the effects of future diffusion of birth control methods may be expected to exert a progressively weaker depressing force on the birth rate, especially in the urban white population.

#### CHANGES IN FAMILY INCOME

A second depressing factor has been the action of economic forces in periods of low income. For this reason, the economic factors may be classed as alternating, depressing fertility at some times and sustaining it at others. The common explanations of the recent rise in the birth rate have been almost entirely in terms of economic changes. It is probably true that the extended period of high level activity since the late 1930's has been one of the recent sustaining factors. We need, however, to know a good deal more than we do at present about the relationship of income change to family size. We have the paradox that low income families have the most children as contrasted with the fact that a low level of national income prob-

ably tends to depress the fertility rate. Periods of depression or prosperity have to extend over a number of years, however, before they materially affect the total reproduction of a generation, since there is some evidence that couples who start their families early in periods of prosperity do not necessarily have a much larger completed family, especially if the period of prosperity is shortly followed by a period of depression. Conversely, couples who, in a period of depression, postpone starting their family have some tendency to make up this deficit later in life if economic conditions change before they are too old. It may be noted that, in spite of the rising prosperity of the 1920's, the birth rate was still falling, the probable explanation of this being that such sustaining influence as might have been exerted by the favorable economic conditions was more than offset by the rapid migration of that period and the consequent rapid diffusion of knowledge of effective family control.

One marked difference between the present economic upswing and that of the 1920's is in the distribution of income. This is shown in Chart 2. Whereas in 1929 only 35 per cent of the families had incomes of more than \$2,000, in 1947 64 per cent of the families were above the \$2,000 level after expressing both distributions in terms of 1929 dollars. Changes in distribution of income may prove to have a more direct effect upon the family size than changes in the general level of income. Several recent investigations have indicated that the correlation of low income with large families persists only up to about the middle of the income range, and that at the \$2,500 to \$3,000 income level, families show some tendency to increase in size with increases in income, especially if this relatively good income is attained before 30 years of age.<sup>2</sup> Another possible relationship between size of family and family income which needs more exploration is the relationship between the relative security of income

<sup>1</sup> P. K. Whelpton, and Clyde Kiser, "The Comparative Influence on Fertility of Contraception and Impairments of Fecundity," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2, April 1948.

<sup>2</sup> T. J. Wootter, "Size of Family in Relation to Family Income and Age of Family Head," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 6, December 1944.

and willingness to rear children. In the present state of our knowledge, this must remain in the conjectural stage.

During the period of mobilization, the level of family income of men in the service was maintained by a substantial family al-

liment enough to influence family size, however, such a system would be very costly. It is debatable whether the United States birth rate will soon be low enough to warrant such a guarantee of incomes of families with children. This is, however, an issue certain to be

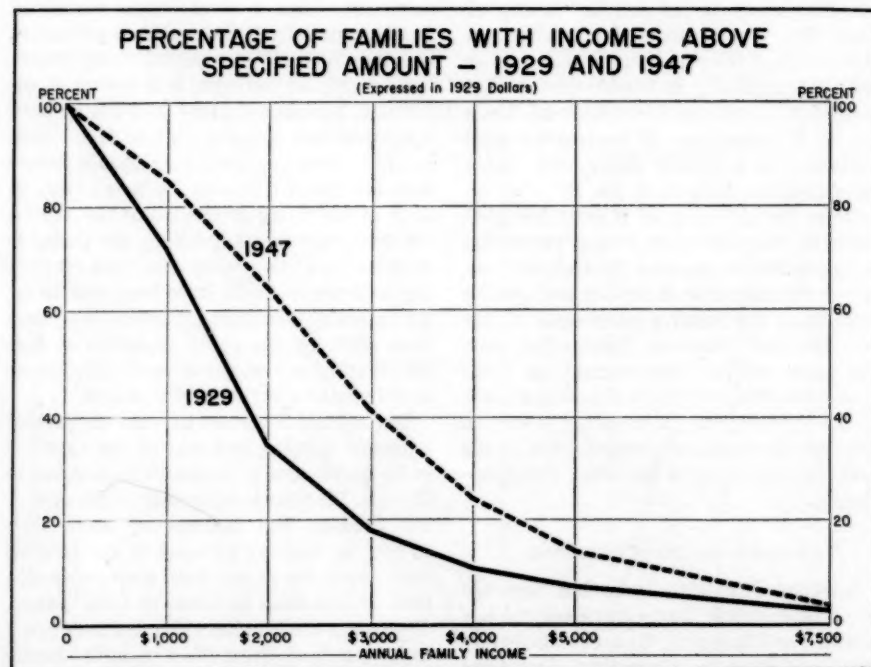


CHART 2. Percentage of Families with Incomes Above Specified Amount—1929 and 1947.

lowance system adjusted to the number of children, and its security was somewhat stabilized by insurance policies and survivors benefits. In many cases, this represented an adequate sum for a young couple contemplating marriage, and no hesitancy was shown in marrying and starting a family early. This undoubtedly contributed to the increase in births in the 1940's.

This suggests that a substantial system of family allowances, patterned on the systems in force in nearly all European countries, Canada, and Australia, could place a cushion under the American birth rate. If adequate

discussed widely if the reproduction rate again approximates a stationary level as it did during the depression.

In the meantime, a number of partial allowances, subventions, and special services are emerging which contribute to the security of families with children. In these days of high taxes, dependents' exemptions are of some value to large families. Free school lunches, maternal and infant clinics, and, as low as they are, survivors benefits in social insurance contribute to security. Adequate housing, if more widely available for low and middle income families, would be a further

aid to young couples. Family subventions of this type are highly developed in the Scandinavian countries.

Aside from any influence on the size of families, the encouragement of families with children by these subventions and services follows the American tradition of equalization of opportunity and fostering full development of every citizen.

which affords the potential for sustaining the birth rate, which has been only sketchily explored.

#### IMPROVED DEATH RATES

In addition to the relative level and distribution of incomes, one of the principal recent factors in sustaining reproductivity has been the improvement in the death rate.

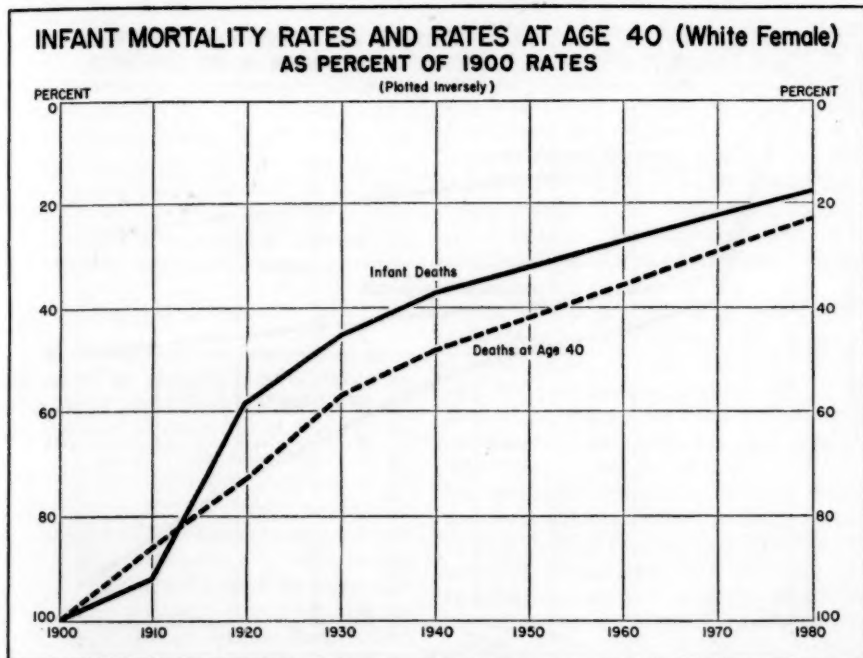


CHART 3. Infant Mortality Rates and Rates at Age 40 (White Female) as Per Cent of 1900 Rates.

The fact that increased ability to control family size has led to a reduction in the birth rate can only mean that a considerable number of couples in the past had more children than they wanted. On the other hand, there have always been a substantial number of couples who have not had as many children as they wanted. Aside from those who have been limited by economic insecurity, others have been unfortunate because of ill health or incompatibility, or because of the death of their children. It is this latter group

Although the decline in deaths has not been so rapid as the decline in births, it has been one of the major social accomplishments of the industrial era. This has reacted on reproduction in several ways.

Male mortality has not improved as rapidly as female mortality, but the improvement have been substantial. The decrease in the male death rate has resulted in the decrease in the number of young widows. In 1890, 9 per cent of the women 35 to 44 years of age had been widowed as against



only about 6 per cent in 1940. This small shift in percentage means that, if the proportion of widowhood had been the same in 1940 as in 1890, there would have been something like 300,000 more widows in the childbearing ages than there were in 1940. This larger number of couples which remain unbroken by death has a direct effect on reproduction. The decrease in widows has

cially if we are considering net reproduction rather than the gross rate; that is to say, if we are considering natural increase rather than only increase in the birth rate. The decrease in white female mortality is shown in Charts 3 and 4. Chart 3 indicates female mortality at particular years, expressed as percentage of the mortality in 1900—one line indicating the improvement of the death

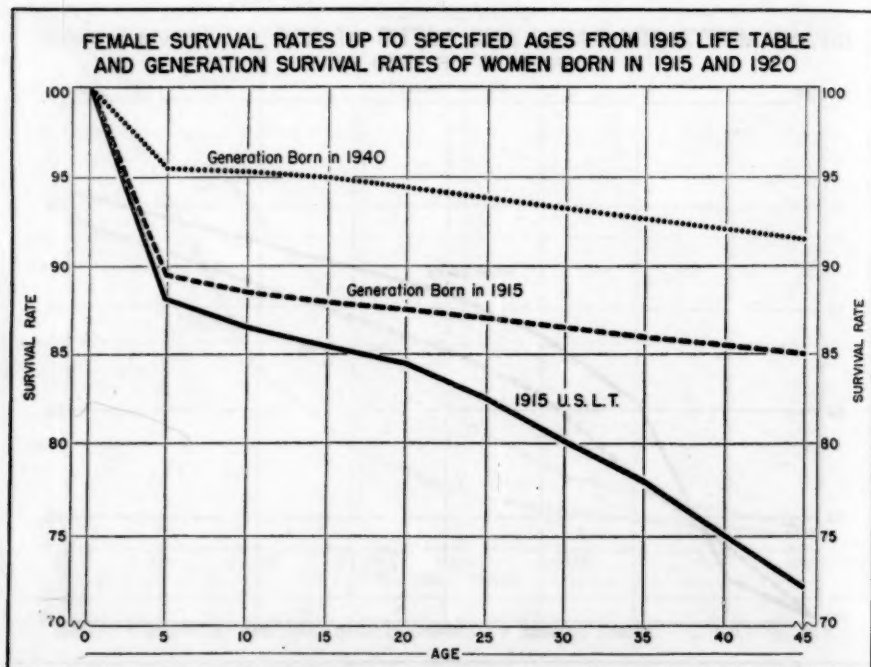


CHART 4. Female Survival Rates up to Specified Ages from 1915 Life Table and Generation Survival Rates of Women Born in 1915 and 1920.

been offset slightly by the increase in the divorce rate. However, the number of widows is so much larger than the number of divorced women who do not remarry that this is not yet a major offset. The prospects are that in the next 30 years, male mortality will improve more rapidly than female, causing a still more favorable sex ratio in the childbearing ages and less widowhood.

Decrease in female mortality has an even more direct bearing on reproduction, espe-

cially if we are considering net reproduction rather than the gross rate; that is to say, if we are considering natural increase rather than only increase in the birth rate. The decrease in white female mortality is shown in Charts 3 and 4. Chart 3 indicates female mortality at particular years, expressed as percentage of the mortality in 1900—one line indicating the improvement of the death

Chart 4 indicates improvement in mortal-

<sup>3</sup> R. J. Myers, "Population, Birth and Mortality Trends in the U. S.," *Transactions of the Actuarial Society of America*, Vol. XLI, #3, May 1940.

ity in a still more graphic way. This chart compares the white female mortality as indicated by the static life table of 1915 with the generation rates<sup>4</sup> for women born in 1915 and those born in 1940. A static life table, such as that of 1915, is a cross section of mortality in a particular year, and it is sometimes assumed that those mortality rates will persist through the lifetime of a generation which passes through those ages. On the other hand, a generation mortality table takes into account the actual improvement in mortality as the generation ages.

According to the mortality projections of Thompson and Whelpton<sup>5</sup> and to the present trends in public health, a still further decrease in female mortality rates can be expected in the future, especially in the non-white population. This improvement is, however, more likely to proceed at a slower rate than it has for the past 30 years.

#### PRENATAL DEATHS

Another great area of potential saving is represented by prenatal deaths. When all categories of prenatal death are combined, they represent as much loss of potential life as do any of the major causes of death included in the mortality statistics (from 400,000 to 500,000<sup>6</sup> per year). Our statistics in this field are woefully inadequate not only because of faulty reporting, but also because of difficulties in classification. The mere fact that an infant may draw a few feeble breaths is sufficient to change the classification from a still birth to a live birth; a few days' difference in the length of pregnancy is sufficient to change the classification from a stillbirth to a miscarriage; and the category of spontaneous abortion is still more difficult to

treat quantitatively. Figures are not available to show a trend for any of these categories, except stillbirths, and these are subject to considerable error, largely because of the difference between the States in definition. However, in the past 25 years it would appear that there has been a reduction of over 30 per cent in stillbirths alone. If there has been the same reduction in other types of prenatal death, we could, by combining these figures with the child mortality figures, arrive at the following conclusion: That in 1915, about 1,250 pregnancies would have resulted in 1,000 live births, of which only 866 would have survived to the average childbearing age; whereas in 1945, an equal number of pregnancies would have resulted in 1,075 live births, of which nearly 1,000 would survive to the average childbearing age, indicating a net increase of about one-sixth in the reproduction rate without change in the pregnancy rate.

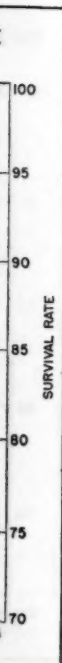
Still further progress is in prospect for preventing prenatal deaths. The spread of prenatal clinics is highly effective. In the past few years special advances have been made in the study of the relation of nutrition to prenatal death. There has also been considerable progress in the saving of prematurely born infants who formerly would have been stillborn or have lived only a short time. Indirectly, the reduction in serious illness from certain infectious diseases, such as syphilis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and possibly others, has made possible a higher proportion of live births. It has only recently been suspected that the operation of the Rh factor in the blood is such that, if the two parents are incompatible with respect to this factor, prenatal death may occur.

Basic research which may lead to further progress in this area is still in the preliminary stage. This is a serious gap in our medical, social, and psychological knowledge. For instance, while the effect of the incompatibility in the Rh factor is suspected, no remedy for this situation has been discovered. It is not known whether in the future, research can be fruitful enough or its application can be universal enough to accomplish substantial reductions in prenatal deaths,

<sup>4</sup>T. J. Woofert, "Completed Generation Reproduction Rates," *Human Biology*, Vol. 19, #3, September 1947.

<sup>5</sup>*Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975*, U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947.

<sup>6</sup>H. L. Dunn, and I. M. Moriyama, "Frequency of Abortion," *The Abortion Problem*, Williams and Wilkins, 1944; also R. K. Stix, and D. G. Wiehl, "Abortion and the Public Health," *American Journal of Public Health*, 1938.



improve-  
indicate  
only 38  
deaths  
per cent  
mortal-  
Mortality  
Actuarial  
1940.

but there are at least very challenging possibilities here.

Whelpton points out that among couples who plan their families with success, a reduction in the number of prenatal deaths is not likely to result in the same numerical increase in live births, for the reason that couples who successfully plan their families are likely to try to have the number of children that they want anyway, and the occurrence of a prenatal death will simply mean the later birth of a replacement if the couple is young enough. We are, however, still a considerable distance away from universal successful family planning, and several things can happen to prevent a wanted replacement of a prenatal loss. Among these are subsequent death or serious illness of either parent, and economic change in the situation of the family. Under these circumstances, Whelpton estimates that a reduction of one-third in the number of abortions alone would probably result in an increase of from 50 to 60,000 in the number of live births, which he concludes is incidental. When the possible saving in other types of parental death are added, a 100,000 saving is not impossible. In a number of births equivalent to that of the 1930's, this would be sufficient to raise the gross reproduction rate by two to three points, and, thus, in some generations it would spell the difference between an excess above replacement and a deficit.

#### STERILITY

Extending our investigation still further back in the life cycle, we note a number of complex causes which contribute to sterility. Again, we have a field where ignorance outweighs knowledge. Population experts rather generally assume that 10 per cent of the married couples are unable to bear children. Even this estimated over-all proportion, however, is based on tenuous evidence. Aside from fragmentary studies of special groups, it is inferred from the fact that over the past 30 years from 7 to 15 per cent of all women who have married have remained childless past age 45. However, at some periods in the farm population this has been as low as 6 per cent. There is no way of determining,

however, what proportion of these were involuntarily childless.

Little is known about the causes of involuntary sterility. We have learned enough to know they are numerous and sometimes complex. They may arise from ill-defined after-effects of previous illnesses of either mate, or they may be traceable to complex physical or psychological interrelationships, and the conditions vary from temporary to chronic. Research into these causes is still in its rudimentary state. The National Research Council has recently constituted a Committee on Human Fertility, whose objective is to stimulate and coordinate systematic research, and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America has invested some \$120,000 in a few modest projects; but nothing resembling a vigorous comprehensive program of research is underway.<sup>1</sup>

From the viewpoint of constructive action, this discussion may be divided into measures to prevent the onset of sterility and measures to correct sterility.

A considerable reduction in the onset of sterility has doubtless been incidental to other improvements in general health. One of the most obvious of these has been the rapid reduction in disabling venereal diseases, which has taken place since public health campaigns were directed against these cripples. Another is the increased skill of physicians in preventing injuries in childbirth of such a nature as to cause later sterility. Little is known of the after-effects of certain virus diseases, but it is suspected that something can be accomplished in this area. Some progress has been made in premarital testing, but it is questionable whether such tests reduce the number of infertile couples or merely prevent some individuals from marrying.

The possibilities of correction of sterility after it has been diagnosed are still less developed. Basic research as to the causes needs to be intensified before methods of correction can be perfected. Such corrective methods as have been tested need wider dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Research in Human Reproduction*, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, 1948.

semination among better trained specialists and clinical organizations. The present methods of treatment are varied. They may be psychiatric, endocrine, nutritional, surgical, or they may involve artificial insemination.

There is ample evidence to indicate that if effective methods were available, they would be widely used even though diagnosis often involves long drawn-out complex tests and correction requires great care. The intense competition of childless couples for the adoption of the few orphans available supports this belief. It is a well-known fact that babies available for adoption are sometimes purchased in a kind of black market. The growth and success of official child placement agencies also index this demand. This would indicate that just as the perfection and spread of measures of contraception have reduced the number of unwanted children, so the perfection and spread of methods of treating sterility could substantially increase the number of wanted children.

The Planned Parenthood Federation is in touch with 58 fertility services, most of which function in connection with other clinics.<sup>8</sup> These services have records on 8,500 couples who have applied for treatment, 1,500 of whom are still under treatment. Of the other 7,000, only 1,200 were revealed by diagnosis to be incapable of benefiting from treatment, and 1,600, or nearly one-fourth, had had a child after treatment. The need for further development of such facilities is emphasized by the fact that in this whole country there are only 58 such services, and these have reached only 8,500 couples. This is an insignificant fraction of the number who could benefit by such treatment if the facilities were widely available. The number of people who consult and are benefited by private physicians is not known, but is probably much larger than the number coming to clinics. Likewise, we do not know the extent to which general practitioners are competent to make these specialized diagnoses and apply such treatments

as are available. It is, however, significant that in the 7,000 cases which had been treated by these services, successful results had been obtained in one-fourth.

While the potential annual saving from prevention of prenatal death and correction of sterility may be relatively small, it is not without the realm of possibility that within the next 15 or 20 years an "all out" attack on both of these problems could add some 150,000 to 200,000 live births a year. While this number is relatively small when the annual number of births is over 3½ million and when the gross reproduction rate is over 140 per year as it has been in 1946, 1947, and 1948, in another situation where the level of births is around 2¾ million and the gross reproduction rate around 110, such an addition to the number of live births could raise the gross reproduction rate by 4 or 5 points, thereby constituting the difference between an eventually declining population and one which will increase gradually for an indefinite time.

This comes about because even modest annual savings accumulate as time goes on and eventually add a considerable number of persons in the total population within the 30 childbearing years. Increases in births which are brought about by decreases in infant mortality, prenatal death, and sterility are most desirable from the viewpoint of population policy because, in the main, they result in the addition of wanted children. They increase the number of children and spread much of this increase in families which otherwise would have had few or no children.

#### NUMBER OF CHILDREN WANTED

The changes in the number of children wanted by the average couple are more difficult to measure. It is probable that this number is a variable which changes under the influence of economic conditions and familial attitudes whose interrelationship is complex. That such change probably takes place is sketchily indicated by two Gallup polls conducted in 1941 and 1945 in order to get at the opinion on the ideal number of children in a family. The change in this ideal from 1941 to 1945 was represented by an in-

<sup>8</sup> Release of the Medical Department of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, December 15, 1948.



crease of about 10 percent. Such investigations as have been made indicate that the ideal number of children for a family is significantly higher than the number which have recently been born or the number which is usually eventually planned.

Some commentators on the present rise in the birth rate have expressed it that motherhood is back in style. It can at least be verified that early motherhood is on the increase, but recent analyses of the order of birth and the age of mother indicate that the excess of births has been largely in the first and second birth orders. Thus, although couples have had first and second children early, it remains for the future to show whether the average completed family of this young married generation will eventually be larger or whether they have merely accelerated the formation of a family of the size which has recently prevailed. Future events will likewise determine whether any tendency toward larger families in the generation which began married life in the 1940's will be imitated by generations marrying in the 1950's and thereafter. In other words, it is still uncertain whether there has been any significant change in the ideal family size or whether the recent rise was primarily an economic and wartime phenomenon. The trend of the generation reproduction rate (the number of children ever born to 100 women attaining age 45, as shown in Chart 1) indicates that recent completed generations have increased somewhat in size over those whose principal childbearing experience was in the 1930's, but the generations who were in the ages 20 to 30 in the 1940's will not have completed their families until the years 1955 to 1965.

#### SUMMARY

To summarize, the recent dynamics of the birth rate suggest that there has been in

the last few years a sharp shift from the predominance of depressing factors to a predominance of supporting factors. The diminution of the depressing influence was attributed to a possible slackening of the influence of the spread of contraception, plus the shift of economic factors from the unfavorable to the favorable side of the ledger. The increase of the sustaining forces was attributed primarily to improvements in mortality, with the possibility that saving of prenatal deaths and prevention and correction of sterility were beginning to exert some upward pressure.

It should again be emphasized that these observations are not to be taken as efforts to predict the future trends. Commenting on this problem, Whelpton states: "When all of these matters are taken into account, there seems to be little justification for estimating future trend of the birth rate by the extrapolation of any curve fitted mathematically to the rates of earlier years. Many mathematical formulas for extrapolating past trends in the rates for the native white population would give values for the 2,000 that seem absurdly low."<sup>9</sup>

Finally, it should be noted that whereas the depressing factors have received extensive study, the sustaining factors, with the exception of studies in improvements of mortality, have been relatively neglected. The sustaining factors require a vast amount of medical, psychiatric, and sociological study before we can feel with any confidence that our knowledge of the complex factors affecting the birth rate is sufficiently definite to constitute the basis for a coherent population policy.

---

<sup>9</sup>P. K. Whelpton, *Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975*, p. 29, U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947.

## AGE AND SEX CATEGORIES AS SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES IN THE MENTAL DISORDERS OF LATER MATURITY\*

IVAN BELKNAP AND HIRAM J. FRIEDSAM

University of Texas

RECENT developments in systematic sociological analysis of age and sex categories<sup>1</sup> and of the life cycle of individuals and institutional patterns<sup>2</sup> have a number of implications for sociological research. This paper aims to suggest a possible implication in orienting research in the mental disorders of later maturity.<sup>3</sup>

Most scholars in the field of abnormal psychology have assumed that the close relationship between age and sex status and the variations in specific psychoses furnishes ground for a "biological" interpretation of mental disorders.<sup>4</sup> This assumption no longer

appears to fit research data in mental disorders. An indicated approach, as we shall try to show in the case of one class of mental disorders, is one which employs sociology and biology as co-determinants.

Senile dementia and psychosis with cerebral arteriosclerosis are the two primary mental disorders of later maturity.<sup>5</sup> Standard texts in abnormal psychology assume that organic (usually cerebral) deterioration "results in" these mental disorders. One text suggests that senile psychosis is the result of "damage" to the brain tissue from aging.<sup>6</sup>

This interpretation of mental disorders has never furnished a satisfactory account of differential incidence rates in the mental disorders of later maturity, such as the rural-urban, sex, native and foreign born, Negro-White, economic, and regional.<sup>7</sup>

These sociological inadequacies are the more significant in view of evidence of additional shortcomings from pathology and psychology. If cerebral deterioration by itself is a sufficient explanation for the senile psychoses, a definite correlation should exist between the deterioration and the psychotic symptoms. But research by Rothschild, Gelerstedt, Sharp and others during the past fifteen years has raised doubt as to such correlation. Rothschild writes:

... When anatomic changes are scrutinized without preconceived ideas as to their significance, it becomes evident that they are but one

Munn, *Psychology*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946, p. 481.

\*Recent literature deals also with the neuroses of later maturity.

\*Munn, *Psychology*, loc. cit.

\*H. W. Dunham, "Social Psychiatry," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (April, 1948), 183-197, has reviewed these inadequacies, for mental disorders in general, quite comprehensively.

\* Manuscript received March 29, 1949.

<sup>1</sup>T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, VII (Dec. 1942), 604-620; R. Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," *American Sociological Review*, VII (Dec. 1942), 589-603; L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," *Readings in Social Psychology* (Ed. T. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley), New York: Henry Holt, 1947. Actually, as Ralph Linton remarks, the analysis of age categories is implicit in many culture studies. E. T. Hiller (*Social Relations and Structures*, New York: Harpers, Chs. 22-25) has made a thorough sociological application.

<sup>2</sup>P. C. Glick, "The Family Life Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, XII (April, 1947), 164-74; A. Beegle, and C. P. Loomis, "Life Cycles of Farm, Rural Non-Farm, and Urban Families in the United States as Derived from Census Materials," *Notes, Rural Sociology*, XIII (March, 1948), 70-74. R. E. L. Faris, "Interaction of Generations and Family Stability," *American Sociological Review*, XII (April, 1947), 159-164.

<sup>3</sup>Research in other age categories is of course implied in the theory, but it has been omitted from the present paper.

<sup>4</sup>"Biological" in the sense that these disorders are an expression of organic events associated with genetic sexual, maturation, or senescence patterns. See J. D. Page, *Abnormal Psychology*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947, p. 216; C. Landis, and M. Bolles, *Textbooks of Abnormal Psychology*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946, p. 156. N.

element in the total picture. . . . Too exclusive preoccupation with . . . cerebral pathology has led to a tendency to forget that the changes are occurring in living, mentally functioning persons, who may react to a given situation, including an organic one, in various ways. The same damage which produces a psychosis in one case may not do so in another. Evidently, different persons vary greatly in their ability to withstand cerebral damage. . . . This opens up many fields of study. . . .

Such . . . study may perhaps reveal social and situational factors which may be susceptible to modification, and may contribute toward decreasing frequency of these disorders.<sup>8</sup>

In one of the few studies formulated explicitly to test the significance of "social" factors in the senile mental disorders, Williams and three co-workers attempted to determine to what degree factors of "social integration" and "financial security" were associated with senile dementia and psychosis with cerebral arteriosclerosis. The finding was that social integration had been lacking in the pre-psychotic histories of over two-thirds of the cases of senile dementia, and in about one-fourth of the cases of cerebral arteriosclerosis. Financial security was lacking in about three-fourths of the cases of senile dementia, and about one-third of the cases of cerebral arteriosclerosis. The study concluded that factors which may be translated as sociological were quite significant in the etiology of senile dementia; less so in psychosis with cerebral arteriosclerosis.<sup>9</sup> Sociologists will question the categories of this particular study, but the findings are suggestive.

The research of the preceding writers on the psychoses of the aged has been paralleled by similar findings in the neuroses of later life. Cameron classifies biological, cultural, and personal factors which contribute to these neuroses. The cultural factors are four-

fold: Loss of Significance; Economic and Social Dependence; Retirement; and Social Restriction. The "biological" and "personal" factors in his classifications are capable of reduction, in several instances, to factors which will be recognized by sociologists and anthropologists as cultural. For example, the decline in auditory and visual powers (a biological factor) is of particular significance, according to Cameron, because it tends to isolate the individual from "participation in the activities of his social group," a process which the author calls "social disarticulation."<sup>10</sup>

A large number of studies in addition to those selected<sup>11</sup> converge on the proposition that the mental disorders of later maturity are closely related to the character of the social relations in which the given individual is participating.<sup>12</sup> The most critical factor in these social relations bears an apparent resemblance to Durkheim's *anomie*, Jung's "loss of significance," in adult neuroses, and to the "isolation" of Faris and Dunham.<sup>13</sup>

The resemblance here suggests the possibility that the mental disorders of later maturity may be profitably analyzed in much the same frame of reference employed by Durkheim in his study of suicide, but with amplifications made possible through subsequent sociological research. We shall attempt to show that this frame of reference acquires additional research utility when it is employed in connection with systematic structural analysis of the age and sex categories

<sup>8</sup> N. Cameron, "Neuroses of Later Maturity," in Kaplan, *Mental Disorders in Later Life*, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> See citations in Rothschild, Note 8, *supra*. This type of convergence begins to appear in psychosomatic research. See E. Weiss, and S. O. English, *Psychosomatic Medicine*, Philadelphia: Saunders, 1943.

<sup>10</sup> This does not exclude the biological factor, as we have pointed out above, but treats it as only one co-determinant.

<sup>11</sup> E. Durkheim, *Le suicide: etude de sociologie*, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1897. C. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1933. R. E. L. Faris, and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. See particularly Faris' concept of "cultural malnutrition" ("Interactions of Generations and Family Stability," *op. cit.*, p. 164).

<sup>12</sup> D. Rothschild, "Senile Psychoses and Cerebral Arteriosclerosis," in O. J. Kaplan (Ed.), *Mental Disorders in Later Life*, Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1945.

<sup>13</sup> H. W. Williams, et al., "Studies in Senile and Arteriosclerotic Psychoses," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 99 (1942), 712-715.

through which the individual passes during his life cycle. The utility derives from the fact that this procedure enables the student to handle mental disorder rate differences as possible indices of "isolation" or *anomie* potentials in given age and sex categories.<sup>14</sup> A risk theory of this type may give a better account of individual susceptibility, both to organic and the so-called functional disorders than do current approaches, and it opens the way to a structural functional re-interpretation of two of the most important of the rate variations in mental disorder: those of age and sex.

Durkheim's types of suicide were thought of as occurring along a continuum of personality organization. At one extreme the *altruiste* personality was "overinstitutionalized" to such an extent that suicide occurred whenever the social system required it, the person giving up his life without any significant counter impulse toward self-preservation. At the other extreme the *anémique*, as a result of the general disintegration of the institutions of the culture itself, the personality was "under-institutionalized" to such an extent that the person had become isolated from any system of group-maintained values. The psychological manifestation of this condition of normlessness, or *anomie*, is perpetual unrest, *malaise*, an utter loss of desires, or the growth of limitless desires, so that anxiety, excessive tension, and loss of significance so loosen the hold of the individual on life that suicide occurs as a release or escape.<sup>15</sup>

The importance of *anomie* for sociological analysis of personality phenomena follows from the fact that Durkheim's theory of per-

sonality rests, like that of G. H. Mead,<sup>16</sup> on the perception that uniformities in the motivational environment for human behavior are entirely emergents in symbolic interaction.<sup>17</sup> For Durkheim, as for Mead, this implies complete independence of most human action from the automatic biological homeostasis of W. B. Cannon.<sup>18</sup> Human "desires" (wants, ends) are created in the symbolic environment, and the limits on these desires, which are necessary to define satisfaction (the analogue to Cannon's liquid equilibrium) must be created in the same environment. These limits, for Durkheim, are essentially the result of the organization of the human desires into determinate systems.

Considering these desires from his usual structural viewpoint as ends of action, Durkheim maintains that the important ends are those defined as "institutional"; those pursued not as means to any other ends, but as ends in themselves. They derive this ultimate character from the fact that they embody the superior moral authority of the group. Where these ends exist for the individual, with sufficiently-maintained force, altruistic suicide may occur, but never anomic suicide. At the other extreme, neither society nor personality can exist, and approach toward this extreme is measured by increasing rates of anomic suicide: the disorganization of self and society.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934, Part III, 18, 19, 29; Part IV, 30-34.

<sup>15</sup> This does not deny the idiosyncratic elements in concrete human motivation, but it does insist that these elements cannot be the object of a science, since they are always, by definition, unique.

<sup>16</sup> W. B. Cannon, "Stresses and Strains of Homeostasis," *American Journal of Medical Science*, 180, pp. 1-14. Durkheim considers this point at great length in analyzing the conditions of want satisfaction posed by the fact that man's wants are defined exterior to his biology (*Le Suicide*, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-280). Cf. Mead's similar treatment, Note 16, *Supra*.

<sup>17</sup> Durkheim, *loc. cit.* W. L. Warner in *A Black Civilization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1936, pp. 240-3) gives an excellent analysis of the drastic results for the individual personality when, as in the case of the victim of black magic, disarticulation of institutionalization is deliberately carried out by the tribe.

<sup>14</sup> The possibility of applying quantitative checks through these rates is one of the merits of this approach.

<sup>15</sup> E. Durkheim, *Le Suicide*, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-285. This formulation is not entirely satisfactory. Ultimately, *suicide altruiste* may also be an anomic phenomenon, since the group actually extrudes the particular individual, providing no further "place" for him. *Egoisme*, another of Durkheim's types of suicide, is also perhaps significant only as a cause of *anomie*. These theoretical problems are important, but they do not affect the use of Durkheim in this paper.



As applied to the study of mental disorders in specific age categories the concept of *anomie* can be formulated in the doctrine that all human societies must provide a minimum degree of institutionalization in the age categories throughout the life cycle to insure the maintenance of social organization. The correlate of this is that, sociologically, the personality is an identity dependent for its maintenance on the institutional minima defined by the life-cycle status occupied by the individual. The two logical limiting possibilities for loss of identity of the personality system are (a) over-institutionalization to such an extent that the personality system becomes identical with its normative components (altruistic phenomena); (b) the complete disappearance of the normative minima of personality (anomic phenomena). Movements toward the second extreme by the personality system are measures of differential *anomie*, or "isolation" potentials in the age categories of the culture.

The analysis of mental disorders within the framework of age and sex categories requires a basic scheme as to the total interrelations of these categories in a given culture. The scheme which follows is intended to be abstract enough to express the universals of age-grading and the interrelation of generations, but to be amenable to employment in concrete research. The use of the scheme involves the applications of the general diagram (Figure 1, below) as the initial step in the sociological analysis of a given age status in a particular culture. The life cycles of Ego, Ego's father, and Ego's son can then be filled in by concrete data, as in Figure 2 and 3, and observations made on the concrete relationships of these statuses.<sup>20</sup>

The basic theory on which the position taken here rests is that set forth by T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, particularly in the commentary on Emile Durkheim, Chs. II, IV-XI. Cf. F. Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934, pp. 90-130; 3-26. Cf. P. A. Sorokin, *Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1943, Chs. I, V.

<sup>20</sup>The distinction between concrete and analytical levels is that suggested by Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49, and F.

Next, the integration of these statuses in various stages of the life cycle may be determined and degrees of organization, continuity, disjunction, and conflict in the life cycle of Ego inferred. These inferences can then be projected against age- and sex-specific groups of selected intervening variables, such as anomic suicide rates, mental disorders, psychosomatic phenomena, or other such expressions of degrees of integration as can be agreed upon by investigators. Once the relationships are sufficiently established by research, students may work back to inferences from the presence of the variables.<sup>21</sup>

The age and sex categories of particular societies are fundamentally organized in the ethos.<sup>22</sup> More particularly, the adult "key" age and sex status<sup>23</sup> is determined in the ethos and all other statuses structured derivatively with reference to it. This determination is illustrated clearly in some of the type cases of sociology and anthropology,

Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-130.

<sup>21</sup>The mental disorders may actually be more direct measures of *anomie* than suicide. Variations in the psychosomatic rates, particularly those involving hypochondriasis, are another likely measurement. J. L. Halliday, a British physician, has recently attempted to show that variations in psychosomatic disorders of this type among Scottish coal miners are paralleled unmistakably by *anomie* (his term is "social sickness") resulting from the destruction of their community and work groupings (*Psychosocial Medicine*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1948).

<sup>22</sup>"Ethos" in this usage is that of W. G. Sumner (*Folkways*, Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940, p. 36), in the Greek meaning in which he used it: as "the sum of characteristic usages, ideas, standards, and codes by which a group was individualized in character from other groups." Cf. R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934.

<sup>23</sup>This term is that of E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Structures*, *op. cit.*, Ch. 22. Our treatment of these statuses has been influenced by, and is in part based on Hiller's treatment, that of T. Parsons' "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *op. cit.*, Ralph Linton's "Age and Sex Categories," *op. cit.*, and Kingsley Davis' "Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, V, (August, 1940), 523-535.

such as Granet's ancient Chinese noble family, Linton's Comanche, and Arensberg and Kimball's rural Irish family.<sup>24</sup> The key status in the Comanche culture begins with passage into the warrior status in the biological period of young maturity, while the key status in the noble Chinese family does not begin until the biological period of late maturity following the final rituals for Ego's deceased father. It is obvious how other statuses, such as "eldest son" in the Chinese culture, "youth" in the Comanche, and "boy" in the rural Irish are oriented to the key status in their respective cultures.

In the following schematic diagram, Figure 1, the term "status of orientation" will be used to refer the key status of a given, culturally determined life cycle. The status preceding it will be designated the "status of annunciation," that following it, the "status of renunciation." The diagram is arranged to schematize the three intergenerational relations, as well as those between the three major statuses of the individual life cycle. At the right side of the statuses are shown our version of the three nuclear families of Ego which form the skeleton of all kinship structures, parallel with the age statuses of Ego. The annunciation status of Ego is parallel with Ego's family of "maturation"; the orientation status with the family of procreation; the renunciation status with the family of "gerontation." The departure from anthropological usage here is that we have changed the name, family of orientation to family of maturation, and added a third nuclear family in the family of gerontation.<sup>25</sup>

Figure 1 asserts only that the individual passes through a system of statuses, forming part of a moral universe defined in the ethos, that one of the statuses (orientation) is that in which he will attain the maximum integration in his life cycle with the major

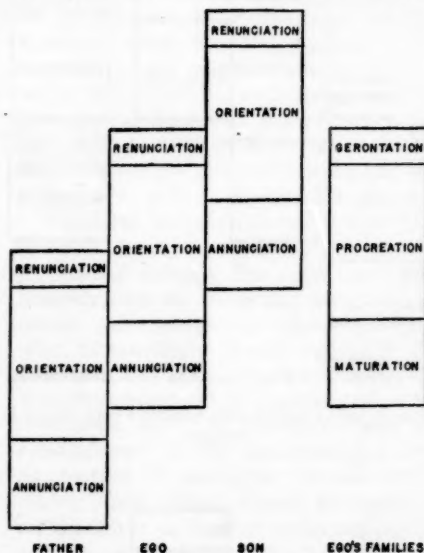


FIG. 1. Abstract diagram of the individual life-cycle statuses.

cultural activities as defined in the ethos; and that he must pass through a stage of preparation for (annunciation) and withdrawal from (renunciation) this major integrated status.<sup>26</sup> The duration, character,

<sup>24</sup> Marcel Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, New York: A. Knopf, 1930, Chs. II, III, IV, Bk. 3; A. Kardiner, and Associates, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, Chs. II, IV; C. Arensberg, and S. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.

<sup>25</sup> If we draw the correct conclusions from the article by W. L. Warner and Kingsley Davis ("Structural Analysis of Kinship," *American Anthropologist* 39, April-June, 1937), the term "maturation" expresses better than "orientation" (the term now used by Warner) the idea of selection, by the kinship system, of given features of man's biology for organization. The period of biological maturation is employed by the culture for sociali-

zation as, in turn, sexual maturity is employed for procreation. The biological correlates of our family of gerontation are the general consequences of the fact that human beings live long past their peak physical and reproductive capacities, thus overlapping the life cycles of generations. Where length of life is not great, and integrated kinship reciprocities are maintained by a well-organized family system, the family of gerontation is hardly discernible. In the industrial culture this family is becoming more evident with every decade, and is an important element in the sociological analysis of later maturity.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. E. D. Chapple, and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Holt, 1942, pp. 486-488.

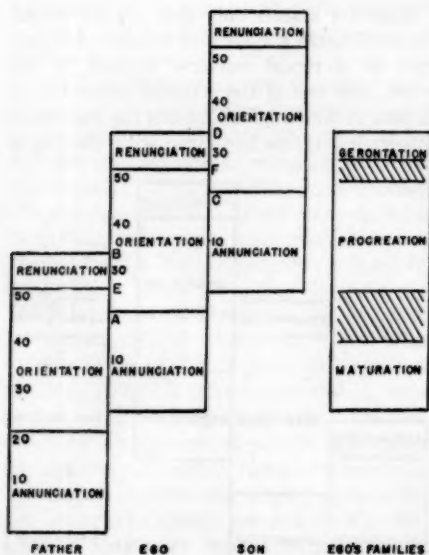


FIG. 2. Urban middle-class employed male life-cycle statuses.

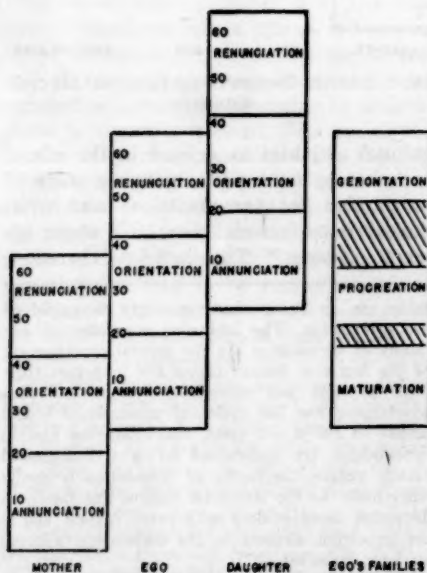


FIG. 3. Urban middle-class housewife life-cycle statuses.

and subdivisions of the general life cycle statuses are determined by the particular culture.<sup>27</sup>

The accompanying diagrams set forth some selected concrete life cycle relations. Figure 2

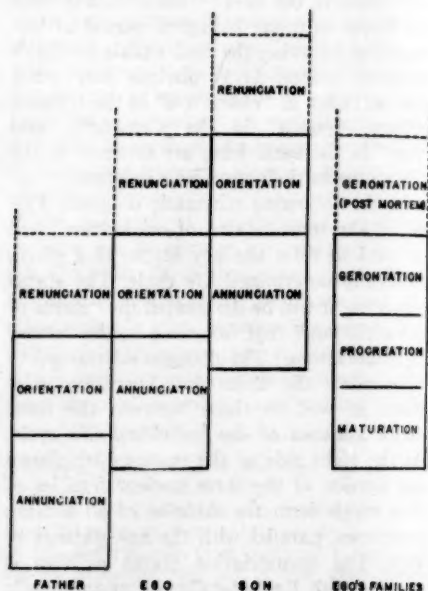


FIG. 4. Life-cycle statuses, oldest son, ancient Chinese noble family.

is that of the middle class<sup>28</sup> urban, white-collar employed male in the culture of the United States;<sup>29</sup> Figure 3 that of the corresponding urban middle-class housewife;

<sup>27</sup> Figure 1 is based largely on the suggestion of Kingsley Davis ("The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *op. cit.*, p. 525) except that we are considering three rather than two generations.

<sup>28</sup> The class concept is used with the qualifications recently suggested by A. B. Hollingshead, "Community Research," *American Sociological Review*, XIII, (April, 1948), 141-144, and L. Mendieta y Nunez, "The Social Classes," *American Sociological Review*, XI, (April, 1946), 166-176.

<sup>29</sup> The chronological divisions in the life cycles of Figures 2 and 3 are drawn from the recent estimates of family life cycles of Glick, Beegle, and Loomis (*supra*, Note 2).

Figure 4 that of the eldest son in the ancient Chinese noble family.<sup>30</sup>

In the middle-class culture of the United States, the "key" or orientation status is that dubbed by Parsons the "male adult breadwinner." This status is structurally somewhat segregated from the family proper in that its characteristics are determined in the occupational system. The breadwinner status is the main prestige-bearing status, and childhood, adolescence, old age, and the feminine key status of housewife and mother are derivative from this male status, carrying considerably less intrinsic prestige.<sup>31</sup> The exaggerated stress on the male status of orientation in the culture of the United States has created a series of observable discontinuities in the life cycles of men and women, particularly at the beginning and end of the orientation period.<sup>32</sup>

Students of the youth culture in the United States have long been aware<sup>33</sup> that processes of attrition in the family structure on one side, and the arbitrary cultural definition of industrial adulthood on the other, have created what amounts to a unique age status, generally termed adolescence, a status which appears to be not entirely a consequence of the biology of maturation.

An inspection of Figure 2 indicates that this definition of adolescence in the industrial culture is structurally related to the

definition of later maturity, or old age. The male orientation status requires the functional independence of the son's job from that of the father, since succession in work in the industrial society is not provided in the family proper.<sup>34</sup> The associated vertical social mobility assumes that the son will choose his own mate, founding his own family of procreation independently at the beginning of his orientation period. In Figure 2, thus, Ego's life cycle is broken away from that of his father along the line AB, and the life cycle of Ego's son is broken away from Ego's life cycle along the line CD.

The break between Ego and his father at this point has a number of consequences for all the age statuses. The male Ego moves abruptly from the fairly well integrated informal peer groups of adolescence into what is essentially a new culture.<sup>35</sup> The novelty of this culture is accentuated by the relative narrowness and specialization of the orientation status as contrasted with the roundedness<sup>36</sup> of the annunciation status. At the time of passage into the orientation status, Ego's connection with his family of maturation is at its final minimum, and he has not yet founded his family of procreation. His institutional connections reach one of the minimal points in his life cycle between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. From this point until the end of the orientation status, Ego will be connected with the specialized structure of the occupations, with the relatively narrow role of husband in the urban conjugal family, and with what secondary informal or formal organizations are available to him in the adult peer structures of the urban environment.

<sup>30</sup> The divisions of Figure 4 are inferred roughly from the material on the ancient Chinese noble family in Marcel Granet's *Chinese Civilization*, *op. cit.*, esp. Bk. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *op. cit.*, pp. 605-606.

<sup>32</sup> The effects ramify into all classes and all other age statuses, but the present treatment is occupied mainly with the middle classes and the statuses of later maturity.

<sup>33</sup> Since the analysis of Reuter, the study of the romantic pattern by Merrill and Elliott, and Waller's functional interpretation of the rating and dating complex. See E. B. Reuter, "The Sociology of Adolescence," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43, (1937), 414-427; F. Merrill, and M. Elliott, *Social Disorganization* (Rev. Ed.), New York: Harper & Bros., 1941, Ch. XXIII; Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review*, II, (Oct., 1937) 727-734. Cf. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Parsons and others have indicated the necessary relationship of this independence to the requirements of the industrial occupations and to the norms of achievement which are a necessary part of the incentive structure of these occupations. See, e.g., T. Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1949, pp. 142-144.

<sup>35</sup> P. H. Landis, *Adolescence and Youth*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947, Chs. 4, 15-17. T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *op. cit.*

<sup>36</sup> Parsons, *ibid.*, pp. 605-608.



The immediate effect of Ego's passage into the orientation status on his father's life cycle status are not pronounced, but they have a different result for Ego's mother's status. Ego's passage, as will be indicated below, marks the end (if he is the last child) of major elements in the housewife's status of orientation, and thus the onset of the status of renunciation for Ego's mother. When Ego's father's status of renunciation is determined by retirement or superannuation from the occupations (the line EB), Ego is by this time thoroughly organized in his orientation status and his family of procreation, leaving his parents only such institutionalization as is provided by the family of gerontation. When Ego reaches this same period (the line FD) his life cycle will be at a similar period of minimal institutionalization. Even before this, the family has become the family of gerontation, a family functionally isolated from those of the children for a period which may, in the U.S. culture, last from sixteen to nineteen years after the marriage of the last child.<sup>37</sup> Even before this point, the maternal and paternal functions of the family of procreation have begun a steady decline. After retirement, Ego must rely heavily for institutionalization on the small universe of the gerontation family.

Comparison of the life cycle in the Chinese specimen with the contemporary cycles of Figures 2 and 3, suggests a probable lack of most of the institutional discontinuities sketched for the latter. Where status changes do occur, the continuous family structure provides the integration-maintaining rites of passage; moreover, the status of later maturity has an obviously different structure in the Chinese life cycle. With the Chinese noble eldest son, the status of orientation continues throughout all the latter part of life. He does not enter the status of renunciation until sometime after

his actual death. The life cycle is probably somewhat analogous in the culture of the United States at the extremes of wealth, or in other cases in which there is family succession and control in an enterprise.<sup>38</sup>

If the life cycle discontinuities outlined in the middle class examples are compared with mental disorder commitment rates, there are suggestive correspondences. The determination, by sociological research, of the exact structures of the various life cycle should carry this relation beyond mere correspondence.

For the general mental disorder rates, as Landis and Page put it, "The two marked changes in incidence rates during the life span occur at the transition between adolescence and maturity, and between maturity and senility." They find that at all ages over 15, the closest approximation of the rates is between 35 and 45 years of age for the two sexes, after which the male rate rises above the female rate, but with both rates rising very rapidly after 55.<sup>39</sup>

Neither the theory of adolescent physiological storm and stress nor the doctrine of the female climacteric physiology gives a satisfactory account of these "marked changes." Biology does not abound in discontinuous events and sharp changes. The growth spurt, as such, is largely over before mental disorder rates climb, from ages 17 to 24; and the middle-life disorders of women begin too early, continue too long, and do not characterize enough women to explain the female rate variations.<sup>40</sup> No changes in the body at the beginning of senility can account for the rapid rise in the rates for both sexes; indeed, in view of the negative evidence as to the etiological significance of purely somatic factors cited at

<sup>37</sup> Yankee City upper-uppers until the past generation were examples. (See W. L. Warner, and Paul Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941). Other students have confirmed this observation.

<sup>38</sup> Landis and Page, *Modern Society and Mental Disease*, *op. cit.* pp. 30-32.

<sup>39</sup> Many psychiatrists have dwelt on this point. See O. S. English and G. H. J. Pearson, *Emotional Problems of Living*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1945, Ch. XV.

<sup>40</sup> Glick, "The Family Life Cycle," *op. cit.*, Beegle and Loomis, "Life Cycles of Farm, Rural Non Farm and Urban Families in the United States," *op. cit.* Cf. Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, XLV (Jan.-March, 1943), 22-38.

the beginning of this paper, the wisdom of searching for such changes seems doubtful.

If we turn to the life cycle structure as a whole in Figure 2, we find that the climb of the male mental disorder rates from ages 15 to 25 is congruent with an area of minimal institutionalization between the announcement and orientation statuses. In the status of orientation, a number of studies have indicated other discontinuities produced by conflicts, differential male spatial mobility, Cottrell's overlapping incompatible roles, and Protestant individualistic isolation (Durkheim's *egoisme*).<sup>41</sup> The mental disorder, like the suicide differentials, suggests that the breadwinner prestige is a Pyrrhic triumph for the male.

Komarovsky's samples, and those of other students, show sufficient changes in the middle-class feminine life cycle between 15 and 25 years of age to explain a quota from this class in the lesser but still pronounced upsurge of the female rates.<sup>42</sup> Further analysis of the feminine cultural life cycle gives a fair account at other age categories.

The feminine statuses maintain, as is indicated by the lesser shading in Figure 3, a closer organization in the family universes than the masculine, even in urban areas, particularly where each generation is married.<sup>43</sup> There is continuity between the life-cycle statuses of mother and daughter, and this continuity may explain at least a great part of the lower female susceptibility, until extreme old age, to certain types of mental disorders.<sup>44</sup>

This is not to say that the female life

cycle is without problematic areas. As is indicated in Figure 3, the functions of her status of orientation begin a steady attrition after the age of thirty-five. She begins to enter what is essentially her status of renunciation. The age-lateralization of her children's relationships in their statuses of announcement in the peer groups and educational system steadily reduces both the maternal and paternal functions in the family of procreation; the difference here being that the male, at this particular time, is less dependent for integration on these functions. Census averages suggest that the unemployed housewife status, with the dwindling of the maternal functions, begins to become seriously isolated, except for secondary groupings, after thirty-five.<sup>45</sup>

The approximation, beginning at 35, of the general female mental disorder rates, in incidence, to those of the male, and the rise in the female involuntional melancholias, furnish an intriguing possibility for research in the sociology of the mental disorders of later life. Indications from cultural anthropology are quite suggestive here, since the presence or absence of climacteric disorders seems to hinge upon whether the feminine life cycle offers sanctioned and well-institutionalized roles subsequent to the maternal function. The lack of such roles for the unemployed urban middle class housewife is obvious.<sup>46</sup>

Further consideration of life cycle variations is beyond the scope of this paper;<sup>47</sup> but the isolating factors considered above

average length of life that makes her susceptibility equivalent.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *op. cit.*, p. 609.

<sup>42</sup> Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> "It is almost certain that in the case of many ethnic minorities, the migratory, skilled and unskilled, the slum-dweller, and the rural-urban migrant, the life-cycle discontinuities will be much greater even than those of the middle-class groups. Cf. A. B. Hollingshead's findings as to family integration in his lowest economic class, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community," *American Sociological Review*, XII (Aug., 1947), 385-395. See also Allison Davis, "The Motivations of the Underprivileged Worker," in *Industry*

<sup>41</sup> L. S. Cottrell, Jr., and R. Gallagher, *Developments in Social Psychology*, Sociometry Monograph No. 1, New York: Beacon House, 1941, pp. 12-58. Isidor Thorner, "Sociological Aspects of Affectional Frustration," *Psychiatry*, VI (May, 1943), 157-173. Cf. R. E. L. Faris, "Interaction of Generations and Family Stability," *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> M. Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42 (Nov., 1946), 184-189.

<sup>43</sup> The life cycle of the unmarried woman in the urban United States culture requires special analysis. She is heir to disjunctions blending some of the problematic character of both the major sanctioned sex roles.

<sup>44</sup> Even here it is probably only her greater

seem to offer, even in their present form, the basis of more likely hypotheses for interpretation and study of mental disorder rates in later maturity than do most current approaches.

Analysis of the life cycles of the two sexes in the culture of the United States suggests that old age, like the other age divisions, is not to be understood solely as the expression of biological processes. It is, instead, a very complex social status, defined by a particular culture, in which the roles of the individual are organized to withdraw him from the major functions of his status of orientation. When the renunciation status is analyzed in cultural terms, it is apparent that for both sexes in the culture of the United States it is associated with grave isolation potentials, given the accent of the culture on the male orientation status and the relations to this status of the female orientation status. The delineation of the varying concrete life cycles, the determination of their isolation potentials, and the subsequent correlation of these potentials with personality phenomena such as mental disorders constitute a very strongly indicated task for sociologists and anthropologists.

Research in the mental disorders of later maturity might be set up in two tentative hypotheses, one for the male, and the other for the female. Within these basic hypotheses

a series of verifying investigations can be designed.<sup>48</sup>

The hypothesis for the male may be put, generally, as follows: When family intergenerational continuity is maintained, and when spatial and social mobility are at a minimum, and when the status of orientation is of maximum length and does not begin or terminate abruptly, the mental disorders of later maturity, organic and functional, should be at a minimum.

The hypothesis for the female, which is different because of the derivative organization of the major feminine status, is as follows: If family intergenerational continuity is maintained, and if the attrition of the feminine status of orientation is accompanied by new sanctioned statuses, feminine mental disorders, organic and functional, should be at a minimum.

Systematic research by sociologists and anthropologists along the lines suggested by these hypotheses might go far toward terminating the present dominance in the study of the mental disorders of later life of outworn ideas of unilinear organic causation. One very likely by-product of this research, in addition to its contribution to a dynamic social psychology, would be a scientific and not merely prayerful mental hygiene for the aged.

<sup>48</sup> These investigations will find a wealth of data in the present literature which may be capable of new interpretations.

## CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH\*

HARRY J. WALKER

*Howard University*

THIS paper deals with an analysis of the changes occurring in the social structure of bi-racial communities.<sup>1</sup> It is concerned with the social system which is manifested in the formal and informal social relations existing between the members of two groups by virtue of the fact that they are defined as being racially different. It is in this sense that we can refer to this social system as the structure of race relations.

The available evidence indicates that the structure of race relations has been undergoing considerable modification since the abolition of the slave system. Following the elimination of the legal basis of the institution of slavery, a new form of accommodation between the white and Negro groups emerged, which, like all changes in the social order, incorporated many elements of the old order. This new form of accommodation was established on the basis of habits and customs which had grown up during the period of slavery.

In rural areas of the South after the Civil War and Reconstruction, the accommodation of the races tended to reach an equilibrium in a relatively stable social organization. Even in these areas, however, recent developments, such as technological innovations in agriculture, the extension of federal services, the pervasive influence of urban centers, and the shifting of population, have brought about a gradual modification of the traditional system of race relations. In industrial centers the structure of race relations has undergone even greater and more significant changes.

An examination of both the formal and informal relations between whites and Ne-

groes suggests three stages in the development of the structure of race relations. These stages can be characterized as follows: (1) the stage following the Civil War, in which personal contacts between whites and Negroes constituted the mechanism of racial understanding and adjustment; (2) a second stage in which, as a result of the evolution of a Negro social world based upon the growth of segregated Negro communities, Negro-white relationships have tended to become more formalized, and in which the Negro community is represented by a type of leadership which performs a liaison function with leaders of the white community; and (3) the third stage in which integration, in the sense of a more or less equal participation of Negroes with whites in community activities, is taking place.

Like all such social developments, these stages can be identified only in a general way with particular geographical areas and historical periods. This is to say that these stages of development are not occurring uniformly throughout the country or even within a single community. In this paper an attempt is made only to conceptualize and identify the changes which are taking place in race relations, though some aspects of all stages of development may be apparent in any given community.

### I. PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AS THE BASIS OF RACE ADJUSTMENT

The social order of the South which emerged out of the ruins of the slave system was characterized by the persistence of intimate and personal relationships between whites and the former slaves.

The persistence of these intimate Negro-white relationships has been observed in the post-Civil War period by several writers.<sup>2</sup>

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> The main observations in this paper are based upon a detailed study of changes in race accommodation in a southern community.

<sup>2</sup> Booker T. Washington, *The Story of the*



As will be shown later, this type of relationship is gradually disappearing in urban centers of the South; however, it still exists in rural communities. The fact that Negroes and whites following the Reconstruction Period were able to establish a relatively orderly community life without prolonged racial friction is a result of an adjustment which was achieved on the basis of the personal relationships which existed between members of the two groups.

It has been noted that these personal relationships between whites and Negroes were characteristic of the slave society. "When it is remembered," says Thompson, "that the ante-bellum plantation was usually a small and closely knit community in which individuals, both white and black, were brought up with a prospect of lifelong association with each other, then it is realized how the plantation offered very much the same sort of human experience that the family represents."<sup>3</sup>

The kind of relationship which grew up between slave and master in the process of accommodation was marked by submissive behavior on the part of the slave and paternalism on the part of the master. In those instances where slaves did not accept their subordinate status, their behavior often exhibited sullen rebellion and in a few instances resulted in open revolt. But over the years as the slave group became more and more accommodated, many of them sought status inside the slave system and in the eyes of their masters by a kind of adaptation marked by submissiveness in expectation of preferential, and even affectionate, treatment.

In the period following the abolition of slavery as a legal institution, the personal relations which existed between Negroes and their former masters provided the basis for

the development of a *modus vivendi* for the two groups. This was inevitable in a social system in which whites had re-established their dominant position during Reconstruction. Thus the former slaves found it necessary to rely upon personal influence with whites as a means of protection, acquiring assistance in time of distress, securing favors, and in developing a sense of security.

Johnson has noted that these relationships not only have a protective function in rural communities of today, but afford Negroes a sense of security in a society dominated by whites. In a report of a study of a rural county in Alabama in 1934, he observed that it is the "unfailing rule of life" that Negroes "should get for themselves a protecting white family."<sup>4</sup> Raper, after examining a number of cases, has shown that in the effort of Negro farmers to purchase land the friendship of a white landowner is a factor of utmost importance.<sup>5</sup> It is well known that when a Negro becomes enmeshed in the toils of the law, evidence as to his innocence may not be as important in securing justice or leniency as the active interest of a "white friend."<sup>6</sup>

Dollard also has commented on the affection shown for Negroes by upperclass whites and planters who reflect the tradition of the ante-bellum South. He has noted also that this group showed less antagonism to Negroes than did lower-class whites, who view Negroes as a competitive group.<sup>7</sup> It is because of the traditional antagonism of the poor whites to Negroes that the existence of personal and intimate relationships between Negroes and whites constituted a significant factor in racial adjustment.

It should be noted, however, that the expression of friendliness and intimacy on the part of Negroes and whites toward each

*Negro; The Rise of the Race from Slavery*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1909, I, p. 189. Robert E. Park, "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, VIII (1913), 75-82.

<sup>3</sup> Edgar T. Thompson, "The Physical Basis of Traditional Race Relations," in Edgar T. Thompson (Ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1930, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Charles S. Johnson, *The Shadow of the Plantation*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Raper, *Preface to Peasantry*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

<sup>7</sup> John Dollard, *Caste and Class in A Southern Town*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937, pp. 82-83.

other is governed by what Doyle has called the "etiquette of race relations."<sup>8</sup> This racial ritual, as observed in such forms of behavior as salutations, greetings, casual and formal meetings involving members of the two groups, served in a way to permit expressions of intimacy while maintaining social distance between the two groups. Moreover, as Doyle has indicated, it constituted a means of social control which functioned to maintain the dominant position of whites while effectively impressing upon Negroes their subordinate status in the society. The fact that this type of intimate relationship was carried over from slavery made it possible for the two groups to work out an adjustment which minimized the possibility of conflict.

It should be understood that in the open rural communities and towns of the South such social institutions among Negroes as the church and family formed the basis for a simple type of separate social organization. But in the area of race relations a member of each Negro family maintained a friendly relationship with some white persons, or stood in such a relationship to some other Negro who could represent him in his dealings with whites. What is important here is that in the southern rural society there is no necessity for the representation of the entire group, since race relations developed within the framework of personal relationships which characterize a folk culture.

Inevitably, however, economic and social changes incident to industrialization and urbanization in the South have tended to effect a tremendous change in the character of race relations. The most significant development in this connection has been the increase in the segregation of the Negro urban population.

## II. GROWTH OF A NEGRO SOCIAL WORLD AND THE RISE OF A NEGRO LEADERSHIP

One of the consequences of the urban process has been the growth of segregated Negro communities within the larger urban

communities. Along with the growing physical segregation of the Negro population there have developed separate Negro social institutions and associations. The development of a segregated school system and the creation of a pattern of separation in the use of public facilities, such as transportation, eating places, and places of public assembly, have formed the basis for the development of the segregated Negro community. This segregated community comprises a Negro social world which effectively insulates many Negroes from contact with whites. In fact, many Negroes have only impersonal contacts with whites—the whites whom they meet in such capacities as salesclerks, laundrymen, and collectors. This growing impersonality of contacts in the urban community has tended to destroy the basis for racial adjustment which existed in the intimate personal relations between individual whites and Negroes.

Even in domestic service pursuits, where relationships between Negro servants and their employers would be expected to retain some of the traditional intimacy, marked changes have occurred. Whereas, formerly, servants of the older generation were identified, both in their own conception and in that of their employers, with the white families for which they worked, the younger generation of Negroes, farther removed from the plantation tradition, do not form such intimate bonds. Moreover, this new generation of servants now lives in a Negro world where they acquire new values and new conceptions of themselves.

An important feature of this Negro world is its developing class structure. While many aspects of the traditional system of race relations remain, including personal relations between whites and Negroes as a mechanism of adjustment, the development of a Negro class structure and social world is resulting in a new orientation of Negroes in the social order.

The development of a class structure within the Negro group has placed a severe strain on a social system which has maintained a subordinate status for the entire Negro group. The emergence of a Negro

<sup>8</sup> Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 193.

world has enabled many Negroes to achieve a higher status in business, academic, and other professional pursuits. In accordance with this new status in the Negro community new social roles emerge which result not only in new social horizons but also in new attitudes and sentiments regarding the Negro's status in the larger community.

Members of the lower class have not been unaffected by this development. The possibility of rising in status within the Negro world gives all Negroes a different evaluation of themselves. They acquire feelings of importance and power. This is reflected in the emphasis upon social ritual in professional and business pursuits; it, in effect, forms a resistance to the sense of inferiority and feelings of repression arising out of subordination in the general society. Not only is there the possibility of rising in status within the Negro world, but there exist among Negroes admiration and pride in the achievements of members of their group. Status values are no longer associated only with the white group.

The growth of a Negro world has resulted in a decrease in the traditional, intimate relationships between whites and Negroes. This has been due not only to increased segregation but also to the mobility and impersonal character of social contacts in the urban world. Members of the Negro group now live predominantly in a Negro world which is to a great extent both physically and psychologically isolated from the white world. Yet these two groups must carry on a common existence in many areas of social life.

A new *modus vivendi* for the two groups has been established through the rise of a Negro leadership whose representatives act as spokesmen for the Negro in matters of common interest to the two racial groups. These spokesmen perform an essential liaison function with representatives of the white world. They maintain contact with white leaders in order to make possible harmonious race relations; they fulfill the need for adjusting conflicting interests and disputes involving members of the two racial groups; they participate in working out solu-

tions to common community problems.

In southern communities, where aspects of the traditional form of race relations exist, Negro leaders are of a conservative type, characterized by attitudes of dependence and deferential behavior toward whites as a counterpart of attitudes of paternalism on the part of the politically dominant whites with whom they must deal. This conservative leadership is an expression of the traditional system of race relations based upon the existence of personal understandings between whites and Negroes.

With the emergence of the somewhat isolated Negro world, Negroes who had been closest to leading white people, as a matter of course, became the spokesmen for the Negro group. In some instances these were persons who had served in the capacity of servants for white people. It can fairly be said that this type of leadership is selected by white people and is recruited from those whose backgrounds of relationships with whites have been such as to fit them for a more or less subservient role in dealing with whites. It should be recognized, however, that some Negroes, who apparently are not directly influenced by southern tradition, assume the role of conservative leaders of their group because they have vested interests in the segregated Negro world. In this role are found such persons as ministers, educators, and businessmen.

Over against this type of leadership is that composed of persons farther removed from the plantation tradition. The developing organization of the Negro community, which is a product of the increased isolation of the individual Negro from whites, has resulted in a growing race consciousness and an increasing racial solidarity. A result of this process has been the rise of a new leadership which can be characterized in its extreme manifestation as militant. It is recruited largely from persons who have not had the experience of being servants to white people, persons who have been subjected (insofar as southern racial mores are concerned) to the disruptive influence of isolation from the plantation tradition. Many of these are persons whose background of experience in-

cludes white-collar jobs of middle-class respectability; many of them have received training in northern institutions of higher education; still others are products of the American labor movement.

Representatives of this latter type of leadership are leaders in the sense that they represent the aims and aspirations of the Negro community or segments of it, such as political, labor, and religious groups within the Negro world. Whereas the conservative leader depends upon personal influence with whites in order to achieve some end, the militant leader has bargaining power by virtue of the fact that he has a following. His relationship to members of the white community can be characterized as a political relationship in which his influence is based on social pressure or a kind of political power.

What should be evident, now, is that we are considering two social structures, the larger world of the white man, and the somewhat isolated world of the black man. Since these two social worlds are functionally related in the common economic and social life of American society, it is essential that there be some mechanism for race adjustment. This is found in the liaison role performed by Negro and white leaders.

The conservative leader, or what Myrdal has called the accommodating leader, is more likely to emphasize the necessity for maintaining racial harmony and to oppose attempts at radical changes in the status of the Negro. He usually has vested interests in the business, religious, or other institutions of the Negro community. In the South, as a result of his conservative role as spokesman for the Negro community, he has a favored position in the white community, and to the extent that his influence is used in the interest of Negroes, he has prestige in the Negro community.

### III. INTEGRATION OF NEGROES IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

The growth of a separate Negro world has resulted in an increase in race consciousness and racial solidarity. The more militant Negro leadership which has its roots in the

Negro community is seeking, through various institutions and associations, to organize and give direction to this race consciousness in a struggle for more equal participation in the larger society. At the same time the growing recognition by whites of the common social interests of the two groups has meant increased cooperation and participation on the part of members of the two groups in certain community activities.

Among succeeding generations of whites there are also those who are farther removed from the plantation tradition. They are also being subjected to new ideologies and contacts with the wider world. This, together with the changes in the roles of Negroes in the Negro world, has formed the basis for the development of a counter-process—a process which in certain areas of life of the general community is breaking down the isolation of the two racial groups.

It is characteristic of urban life that people develop numerous associations based on common interests. These interests often cut across racial lines, necessitating organization of groups which include Negroes. Thus, Negroes are drawn into such groups as labor organizations, political parties, and community welfare and educational associations. It is in these activities that we see the emergence of the third stage in the development of race relations—the gradual integration of Negroes in community activities. This process is not as far advanced in southern communities as in northern communities.

It is necessary here to suggest only a few examples of this process. In the community studied by the author of this paper, Negroes participate with whites in many civic and welfare programs. In the organization of the Community Chest movement, for example, Negro workers meet with whites to plan the drive. While members of the two groups do not eat together as in the larger urban centers of the North, they do, nevertheless, meet together to discuss their common problems. In urban centers of the North, such as Chicago and New York, Negroes and whites not only meet at dinner, but Negroes serve on important committees



which evaluate the programs of social agencies and allocate funds. In Washington, D.C., a border city, Negroes and whites attend dinner meetings held by the Community Chest.

There are numerous instances of cooperation by whites and Negroes in recreational activities in the southern community studied by the author. For example, both Negro and white civic leaders participated in the planning of a new city park and recreational center for Negroes. On the occasion of the dedication of the park, Negroes and white leaders took part in the program.

Race contact in industry in this community has not led to as extensive integration of Negroes as is found in some other southern cities and in northern urban centers. For example, in a city like Chicago, Negroes are not only included in the membership of unions on an equal basis with whites, but in many instances have been elected as officers of both local and regional labor organizations. Although Negro workers are organized in separate locals in this community, there is cooperation among white and Negro labor leaders to plan strategy and the operation of the union's program. In many instances the relationships between white and Negro union officials are of the traditional type, with whites playing a paternalistic and Negroes a dependent role. However, this represents an initial step in integration which has possibilities of following the pattern developed in Birmingham, in which Negroes in the steel industry eventually were organized on a non-segregated basis in locals.

Further evidence of integration of whites and Negroes is also apparent in business activities of this community. Here Negroes own and operate a banking and insurance enterprise—the latter being the largest Negro insurance company in the country. The Negro bank is strategically located in the central business section. While at the time of this study the bank was not admitted to membership in the local clearing-house association, the services of the latter were available to the bank, and officials of the bank were permitted to attend meetings of

the association. The bank also had a considerable number of white depositors because of its strategic location and perhaps because of the anonymity it afforded its white patrons.

The necessity for the cooperation of Negroes in educational and health programs has also drawn together Negro and white professional persons having these interests in common. In this community and other cities Negro and white physicians have cooperated in meeting problems of health education and hospitalization. In the field of education the inclusion of Negro teachers in the state teachers association of Missouri is another example of the process. Many other examples are found in the mixed professional and scientific societies organized on a regional and national basis.

It is in the political life of the community that integration has occurred most extensively. This is an area which is of crucial importance to race relations because it has direct bearing on the status of the Negro group in the social system.

Since 1920 when the poll-tax restriction was removed, Negro political leaders have developed a strong political organization. The first Negroes to enter politics were servants who could be trusted by whites to get out a "safe" Negro vote. It is significant that when Negroes first began voting in the community, conservative Negro leaders remained aloof from political activity and actually opposed Negro participation. However, those Negroes who were close to white political leaders and who could be counted on to see that a limited number of Negroes "voted right" were responsible for making Negro voting respectable in the community.

Now that voting on the part of Negroes is accepted by the white community and especially by the conservative Negro leadership, the younger, more aggressive Negro leaders have been making a somewhat successful effort to organize Negro voters to secure greater political power. A measure of their influence is indicated in the fact that they meet informally with white candidates seeking support in elections; they participate in the local party meetings held by whites;

and more recently they have been represented on the local Democratic committee. In recent years, Negro political leaders have also placed Negro candidates on the ballot for such local offices as city councilman and membership on the Board of Education. While these efforts were unsuccessful, it is significant that Negro candidacy did not arouse any serious opposition from whites.

The development of a political organization has given Negroes influence which carries over into other areas of community activity. For example, favorable consideration is often secured in arrests, cases of police brutality, and court trials involving Negroes. It is also an important factor in acquiring more adequate public services, such as schools, recreational facilities, and street paving. This means that Negroes are consulted or represented on committees which plan and execute programs involving their interests.

The relationships established by representatives of the militant Negro leadership with white leaders are based on political power as contrasted with the personal influence of conservative Negro leaders with whites. Even where a militant Negro leader has established a personal relationship with white political leaders, it is of a different character from that which exists between conservative Negro leaders and whites. The former is a political relationship, while the latter is based on the traditional, servile role of the Negro in relation to a paternalistic master.

Finally, it should be recognized that many Negroes develop personal ties with whites of influence as a means of acquiring positions of leadership with all the economic and political advantages which this implies. The more militant Negroes, on the other hand, often resort to attempts at organizing the Negro, thereby defining and expressing the aims and aspirations of the group as a means of achieving leadership. There is no doubt that all of these factors are to be found in the current situation involving the effort to break down segregation in higher education in the South, and the counter-

effort at compromise in segregated regional schools.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The three stages in the development of race relations described above also comprise a sociological frame of reference for the study of many problems in this field. This frame of reference conceivably might be used in the following ways: (1) the three kinds of structures of race relations may be regarded as ideal types for making comparative studies of the racial situation, or some phase of it, in various areas in which each kind of structure is most closely approximated, and (2) such problems may be studied in a single area where two or more of these patterns exist concurrently but in which one type is dominant. Both approaches, especially the first, might possibly contribute to a clearer analysis and understanding of the natural history of race relations. Moreover, this point of view has the advantage of emphasizing the dynamic character of race relations, whereas such a frame of reference as that of caste and class tends, at least as it has been developed and used, to present these relations as being more static in nature.

It is proposed that, in utilizing the frame of reference presented here, a more complete understanding might be gained concerning certain specific problems in the field of race relations. Among these problems are racial tension and overt conflict; the function of white and Negro leadership in a changing system of race relations; problems of racial movements, including the Negro's struggle for equal rights and a new status; problems involving the resistance of whites to changes in the status of the Negro group; analysis of the use of political power to effect status changes of the Negro in the social system; and an analysis of the areas of social life in which integration of Negroes is taking place, which, among other things, conceivably would lead to a determination of those areas in which the greatest resistance to integration would be encountered.

## CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN MADISON, WISCONSIN\*

LOUIS BULTENA

Iowa State Teachers College

A CENSUS survey of Madison, Wisconsin, made by the writer and associates in 1944, obtained data relative to church membership and church attendance from 24,489 individuals 18 years of age and over.<sup>1</sup> The condensed data are presented in the following table.

It will be noted that 7,343 (out of 24,489) indicated no church membership, though 60% of the 7,343 or 4,402 stated they had a church or denominational preference. It is of interest to note that the ratio of members to persons with preferences only is about 4 to 1. Each church group may be thought of therefore as having a loose "outer fringe" of potential members and interested persons which for the average church constitute about one-fifth of the total.

A large number of memberships in "out-of-city" churches were noted, 1,536 or 15 per cent of all Protestant memberships being of this category.<sup>2</sup> Of the 1,267 Presbyterians of our sample, 147 or about 12 per cent have out-of-city memberships; of 1,338 Methodists, 376 or about 28 per cent have such memberships; of the 4,389 Lutheran memberships, about 15 per cent or 640 are out-of-city. Other denominations present similar percentages in this category.

### SEX AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIPS

The majority of the church members are women. However, the "number of males per 100 females" ratio varies considerably from

church to church and denomination to denomination as may be seen from the accompanying table. Thus the ratio for the Italian Methodist church is 122.2 while that for the Christian Science church is only 29.0. The ratio for all Lutherans is 79.5 while that for all Methodists is 67.4. The ratio for the Catholics is 77.3 as compared with a ratio of 74.1 for all Protestants, 100.0 for Jewish, and 138.4 for no-church people. It may also be noted that while 30.4 per cent of the males (of our sample) are no-church, only 23.9 per cent of the females are no-church.

### SOCIAL CLASSES AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIPS

It is often claimed that certain economic and occupational classes do not belong to church in nearly the same proportions as do other classes. Thus it is frequently supposed that church membership is chiefly a middle-class phenomenon and that laboring, professional and "upper-class" people do not belong to churches in as large proportions as do the members of the "middle-classes." Randall, in his *The Making of the Modern Mind*, states this view:<sup>3</sup>

"the great body of industrial workers, for whose life religion has seemed increasingly to grow irrelevant, and to have no vital message, has for the most part directed its energies to making and enjoying a living; the majority without much serious questioning or searching of the heart or definite abandonment of religious beliefs, the more thoughtful minority with active antagonism, seeing little in religion but an 'opiate of the people,' a means of binding them to the existing social order with hypocritical

of the better-housing areas where people could more readily be found at home.

<sup>2</sup>We have no records of the Catholic out-of-city memberships.

<sup>3</sup>Houghton Mifflin Co., revised edition 1940, p. 535.

\* Manuscript received March 29, 1949.

<sup>1</sup>See the writer's unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, *A Sociological Study of 18 Protestant Churches of Madison, Wisconsin*. The 24,489 individuals represented a sample of about one-half of the total population of Madison 18 years and over. In general the aim was to include in the survey sample the persons in every-other house or dwelling unit. When people were not at home three follow-up calls were made. Even so, as can be seen from a thesis map, the sample was somewhat in favor

TRAITS OF MEMBERS OF MADISON CHURCHES AND DENOMINATIONS  
(All data, except Col. 7 & 8, are from our census interviews of individuals and families)

1	2	3	4	5				6	7	8
Denominations	Total "members" included in our survey <sup>1</sup>	No. of males per 100 females <sup>2</sup>	Average number of church attendances per month <sup>3</sup>	Occupations <sup>4</sup>				Average school attainment of members <sup>5</sup>	Average housing values <sup>6</sup>	Estimated seating capacities
				(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)			
				Per cent who are in a professional occupation	Per cent who are in a business occupation	Per cent who are in a clerical occupation	Per cent who are in a "laborer" occupation			
No-Church	7343	138.4	.49	15.9	11.7	22.0	50.4	11.8	\$3215	
Catholics	6515	77.3	3.52	9.2	11.8	28.7	50.3	11.3	3151	4751
Jewish	235	100.8	1.75	15.6	32.3	25.2	26.9	12.8	4409	
Protestants (Total)	(10,280)	74.1	1.85	17.1	12.1	25.9	44.9	12.06	3355	(15,185)
Assembly of God	11	37.5	2.75				100.0	11.0	2710	100
Baptist	400	76.2	1.71	24.5	15.8	25.5	34.2	12.9	3552	700
Christian (First)	84	86.6	1.61	17.5	11.1	25.4	46.0	11.9	3008	250
Christian Science	129	29.0	2.76	11.4	18.2	50.0	20.4	12.8	3695	250
Congregational	1423	70.8	1.64	20.6	15.5	26.0	28.9	13.5	3163	1600
Episcopal	626	68.7	1.52	36.9	18.9	23.3	21.7	14.2	4742	1000
Evang. (Bethany)	64	82.8	2.62	0.0	12.5	18.7	68.7	9.9	3598	250
Evang. (First)	123	78.2	2.10	12.7	16.9	21.1	49.3	11.6	3833	400
Evang. & Reformed	127	64.9	1.97	6.6	9.8	36.1	47.5	10.7	3076	400
Friends	5	66.7								
Gospel Tabernacle	46	91.7	2.51	5.4	5.4	16.2	73.9	9.4	2686	350
Hauge Chapel	14	75.0	3.27	16.7			83.0	11.5	2617	50
Lutheran	4389	79.5	1.97	8.2	9.4	25.6	56.8	11.0	3035	5885
Methodist	1338	67.4	1.63	16.1	11.7	27.3	44.9	12.1	3220	1800
Moravian	78	77.3	2.05	23.3	16.3	20.9	39.6	11.8	4179	100
Presbyterian	1267	75.5	1.54	28.4	15.9	26.4	34.3	13.1	4027	1450
7th Day Adventist	62	63.2	2.39	30.4		15.2	54.4	11.1	2507	300
Unitarian	47	67.8	1.28	45.0	20.0	15.0	20.0	15.2	4529	200
United Brethren	19	58.3	.59		16.7	16.7	66.6	10.3	2418	100
Other Protestant	28	75.0								
Mormons	37	85.0	2.22	42.9	14.3	7.1	35.7	13.7	2676	150
Spiritualists	71	77.5	1.76	18.0	12.8	20.5	48.7	12.1	3626	200
Other (Non-Protestant)	8	60.0								
Total Total Seating Capacity	24,489									20,286

<sup>1</sup> Includes formal members and affiliates identifying themselves with the churches. In each case only eighteen year olds and above are included. Sample is approximately half but varies from church to church.

<sup>2</sup> Proportions based on totals of Col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In the census survey each individual was asked: "About how many times a month do you attend church worship services?"

<sup>4</sup> Each gainfully-employed individual was classified into one of the following U. S. census categories: professional persons; proprietors, managers, and officials; clerical persons; skilled, and unskilled workers.

<sup>5</sup> Each individual indicated his last year finished in school. An average of 11.8 would mean that the average member had not quite finished 12 years (i.e. high school) of schooling.

<sup>6</sup> An economic index was worked out by dividing the city and suburbs into 438 areas (in most cases a city block), then dividing the total assessor's residential valuations for each area by the total number of families in the area. Each individual represented in our sample was then assigned the average housing valuation for his area as an index of his economic status.

promises of bliss to come. Among the professional and scientific classes it has been the inability of traditional religion to justify itself in

the light of modern science, rather than its disinclination to cope with the problems of industrial society, that has led to the rapid



growth of a tolerant indifference, a skeptical agnosticism, or a dogmatic atheism."

Our study does not bear out such a generalization. With respect to Madison, about equal proportions from the various social-economic classes belong to churches and their average attendances do not differ significantly.

Our findings indicate that 31.2 per cent of the "professional people," 29.1 per cent of the "business and civic classes," 27.8 per cent of the clerical group, and 32.5 per cent of the "workers" have no church affiliation.

When we consider the no-church people with respect to the years spent in school we find that they make up about an equal percentage of each educational division. Of all the people who did not go beyond the grades, 31.6 per cent do not belong to church; of those who attended high school, 30.6 per cent are no-church; of those who attended a university, 28.6 per cent do not belong to church; and of those who attended graduate school 33.4 per cent are no-church.

A similar result obtains when the no-church people are considered with respect to economic status. Thus 24 per cent of the people in the \$5,000-6,999 "housing-values" class do not belong to a church; 29% of the \$4,000-4,999 class, 30% of the \$3,000-3,499 class, and 33.5% of the people in the \$800-1,999 class do not belong to a church. The tendency is for slightly more no-church people to come from the lower status brackets than from the higher—but the tendency is not statistically significant.

We conclude therefore that the no-church people are about equally represented in every social class as determined by occupational, educational, and economic indexes. Conversely then, the same is true of the church people as a whole. However, we have yet to consider how the different denominations and churches compare with respect to the socio-economic strata of population from which they draw their members.

The churches and denominations differ considerably with respect to the make-up of their memberships as far as occupations are concerned. Perhaps the most striking dif-

ference between the Protestants and the Catholics in this respect is in the per cent of members drawn from the professional class—the Protestants having nearly twice as many from this class as the Catholics. The Catholics have somewhat higher numbers from the clerical and labor groups as may be seen from the table.

The over-all Catholic and Protestant averages hide many differences between particular churches and between denominations. When the Protestant group is broken down we see striking differences between the denominations with respect to occupational make-up of memberships.<sup>4</sup> Thus while 36 per cent of the Episcopal gainfully-employed-members are of the professional class, only 8 per cent of the Lutherans, and 16 per cent of the Methodists are of this class. While the Unitarian church has 45 per cent professional people and the St. Andrews Episcopal church has 46 per cent, there are several churches (the Assembly of God and the United Brethren—both small groups) which have no professional people at all, and the Parkside Presbyterian church and the Gospel Tabernacle respectively have only 6 and 5 per cent professional people.

There are less striking differences with respect to church memberships of the business classes. This is probably due to the fact that these classes represent a wide range of status—from the small-shop keeper to the large-business manager.

The most striking difference comes with respect to the percentage of the gainfully employed members who are laborers. A little over 50 per cent of the gainfully employed Catholics belong to this category, 57 per cent of the Lutherans, 45 per cent of the Methodists. However, only 22 per cent of the Episcopalians, and 29 per cent of the Congregationalists are of this classification. The individual churches also vary

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately we have no breakdown for the six Catholic churches in Madison. If such breakdown could be given it would undoubtedly show social class variations in the memberships though perhaps not as many as for the Protestant churches.

considerably in this respect. Thus the First Congregational Church has only 20 per cent laborers, St. Andrews Episcopal has 10 per cent, while the little Assembly of God church has 100 per cent, and the Gospel Tabernacle has 73 per cent. Considerable differences between churches within the same denominations frequently are found. Thus Parkside Presbyterian church has 69 per cent laborers while Westminster Presbyterian has only 17 per cent in this category.

The average "number of years finished in school" of the Catholics is 11.3, of the Protestants 12.06. Breaking down the Protestant class we find that denominations vary from 11.0 for the Lutherans to 14.2 for the Episcopalians. The lowest for any particular church is that of the Gospel Tabernacle, 9.4, while the highest is that for the Unitarian, 15.2.

The average housing value for the Catholics is \$3,151, for the Protestants, \$3,355. Protestant denominations and churches vary considerably in this trait. The range for the denominations is from \$4,742 for the Episcopalians to \$3,035 for the Lutherans. For particular churches the values for the two Negro churches, Mt. Zion Baptist, and the African Methodist, and that for the Italian Methodist are the lowest—being \$1,506, \$2,008, and \$1,820 respectively, as compared with the First Congregational, \$4,559, St. Andrews Episcopal, \$4,925, and Unitarian, \$4,529.

Though it is clearly evident that church people tend to group themselves in churches and denominations according to certain social traits, it is probable that we find more heterogeneity in class-status in the average church than we find in any other large voluntary social grouping. In most of the churches we find laborers and professional and business people side by side. Likewise we find "eighth-graders" and people of very low economic status along with people who have completed university and graduate work and those who have high economic status. Such divergences in class status in nearly all the church memberships would perhaps be hard to find in other organizations. Thus lodges, commercial clubs, labor

unions, and various other interest groups are much more homogeneous with respect to occupation, education, and economic status of the members. It is difficult to say why this is so. Perhaps church teachings and traditions on social equality and brotherhood have something to do with it. Also it may be that "the religious thrill" as experienced in worship services has greater capacity for bridging social chasms and for binding the members of differing social classes together than do the interests and activities of other organizations.

#### WHO ATTENDS CHURCH IN MADISON?

In the religious census of Madison each individual was asked about how many times a month he attended church. It is probable that most persons over-estimated somewhat since throughout most of our culture church-attendance is thought of as an index of respectability and character. This is the case especially with some denominations, such as the Catholic, which place a heavy emphasis on church-going. However, in any case the number of church attendances indicated is an index that shows how often the individuals would like to be considered as going to church—i.e., how much emphasis or value they put upon the idea.

If the estimates of all individuals in the sample are taken at face-value, and if the sample is considered a representative half of the total population, then Madison people make an approximate total of 1,098,264 church attendances during a year, or about 21,120 on any particular Sunday. Of the latter about 9,889 are Protestant attendances, the rest being Catholic.<sup>5</sup>

Since the seating capacity of the Protestant churches is approximately 15,185, this would mean that about 64 per cent of the total seating capacity is taken on an aver-

<sup>5</sup> The attendance of the no-church people is assumed to be divided between Catholic and Protestant in about the same ratio as the Catholic and Protestant memberships. It should be noted also that attendances of persons under 18 are not counted. However, their attendance probably does no more than make up for the inflated estimates of those 18 and over included in the census.

age Sunday. Allowing for some inflation of individual estimates on their attendances it would perhaps be safe to say that on the average Sunday approximately one-half of the Protestant seating capacity is used. Observers' reports bear out this estimate.

On the same basis as the above, Catholic attendances per Sunday are 11,120. The seating capacity of the seven Catholic churches of Madison is approximately 4,750, which makes the ratio of attendances to seating 2.36. Again allowing for some inflation one may conclude that the Catholics fill all their seating capacity about twice each Sunday. This seems not an unreasonably high estimate for it is well known that some of the Catholic churches hold several crowded masses each Sunday. To compare Catholic and Protestant attendances with respect to seating capacity it might be said that the average Catholic pew is used about four times as much as the average Protestant pew.

When individual estimates of their attendances are taken at face value our statistics indicate that on any one Sunday about 10 per cent of the no-church people, 43 per cent of the Protestants, and 80 per cent of the Catholics attend church.

Variations between the Catholics and Protestants on church attendance is thus very large—the Catholic average being 3.52 attendances per month, the Protestant 1.85. There is very little difference between the average attendance of the Catholic men (3.47) and that of the Catholic women (3.54), but there is a larger difference between the attendance of the Protestant men (1.66) and that of the Protestant women (1.99).

There is no considerable difference in average monthly attendances between the main Protestant denominations, the highest being that of the Lutherans (1.97), the lowest that of the Episcopalians (1.52). However, there is considerable difference between the individual churches on this trait. Thus the Seventh Day Adventist, Emanuel Lutheran, and Bethany Evangelical have averages of 2.39, 2.70, and 2.62 respectively, while the Unitarian, Christ

Presbyterian, and St. Andrews Episcopal have averages of 1.28, 1.53, and 1.58 respectively.

It is sometimes assumed that certain classes of people attend church much more than other classes—thus, for example, that business and middle classes, in general, attend more than laboring and low-income groups. Thus Thomas Cuming Hall in his *Religious Background of American Culture* (p. 294) says,

"Never in the religious history of the United States is there much evidence to show that more than about one-third of the population ever went regularly to any place of worship, and sometimes the proportion has been probably much less, and it has always been the economically weaker class that has shunned the expense and display of social and financial superiority bound up with attendance on church worship."

Mr. Hall thinks that comparative lack of attendance is especially the case with the Protestant "economically weaker class." However, our study with respect to Madison does not bear out such a generalization.

A study of Protestant church attendance indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the attendance of members of different occupational, economic and educational levels. The same was true for the Catholics. Although economic, educational, and other factors affect considerably what churches people will attend, such factors do not seem to affect appreciably the total amount of church attendance.

It is difficult to say how the Madison church attendances compare with those in the United States as a whole. However, it seems probable that they compare favorably. Few statistics on church attendance are available. According to Benson Y. Landis,

"Only one body, the Congregational and Christian churches, has available systematic studies of church attendance covering a period of years. One thousand local churches having an average membership of 322 persons and an average seating capacity of 370 persons per service, reported average Sunday morning attendance between 1930 and 1933 as follows: 1930, 114.4 persons; 1931, 117.1 persons; 1932, 119.1 per-

sons; 1933, 117 persons. The Commission on Church Attendance of the Congregational and Christian Churches in its 1934 report says the figures indicate that 70 per cent of the seats in churches are not being used on Sunday morning and that probably 75 per cent of the persons known as members are not supporting their churches with their personal attendance and active encouragement."<sup>6</sup>

If it is assumed that the Congregational

and Christian churches are not significantly different in their attendance records from most other Protestant churches of the country, our data would seem to show that the Protestant attendances in Madison are somewhat above the average of the United States as a whole.

<sup>6</sup>"The Church and Religious Activity," *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1935, pp. 783.

## SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION IN HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY\*

PAUL FREDERICK CRESSEY†

*Wheaton College, Massachusetts*

**H**ARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, is one of the ten leading producers of bituminous coal in the United States. During the 1930's it attracted nationwide attention due to the violence of its industrial relations, the county acquiring the name of "Bloody Harlan." The history of the county illustrates many of the problems of social disorganization which accompany the sudden impact of industrial civilization upon a self-sufficient, isolated agricultural society.<sup>1</sup>

Harlan is located in the most rugged mountain area of southeastern Kentucky. Its narrow valleys at the head-waters of the Cumberland River are hemmed in by steep ridges which rise 500 to 1,000 feet above the valley bottoms. These ridges were

once covered with dense forests and beneath the surface lie twelve seams of high-grade coal.

Until the development of coal mining this was an extremely isolated area. For more than a century the people had lived a self-contained life, their farms and household industries producing most of their necessities.<sup>2</sup> A few manufactured items were in use, but it was a two-day wagon trip over rough mountain roads to the nearest railway and the volume of goods brought in from the outside was limited. Some money was in circulation, but much of the trade was carried on by barter. The chief sources of income were the sale of cattle and timber, the latter being floated out on the Cumberland River in the spring during periods of high water.

In this stable society the family and the local community were the two basic social units. A closely knit pattern of family kinship influenced all aspects of life. The heavy labor of clearing fields or building houses was done by neighbors working together on an informal basis of mutual aid. The people shared a common body of folkways and mores which came down to them from pio-

\*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.

†The field work on which this article is based was assisted in part by grants-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council and the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University.

<sup>1</sup>"Western civilization appears at the present time to be passing through some kind of major transition, a change so fundamental in character that it unsettles our basic institutions. . . . The great underlying cause appears to be the transition from pre-industrial folk society to modern industrial civilization." Robert E. L. Faris, *Social Disorganization*, New York: Ronald Press, 1948, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Information on this pre-industrial period was obtained from interviews with old residents still living in the county and from various contemporary literary sources.



neer days. In this isolated primary society social contacts were so intimate that one elderly resident still recalls these earlier days when he knew not only all the people in the county but even the horses and to whom they belonged.

The people were independent and self-reliant. There were no class distinctions and every man felt himself the equal of all others. Although suspicious of unidentified strangers they were generally friendly and hospitable among themselves. The traditions of pioneer days lived on in an intense individualism and resentment of personal slights or injustices. The use of liquor and firearms was another heritage of frontier conditions, resulting in a certain amount of violence and occasional killings. But Harlan had no active feud tradition, there having been but one relatively brief family feud in the county's history. On the whole the people were content to live a quiet, peaceful life following the traditions of their ancestors and paying little attention to what went on outside their narrow valleys.

Their culture was that of an arrested frontier society similar in many ways to that of the Boers of South Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> The mountain culture had many characteristics of a folk society but it lacked the stability and class stratification found in typical peasant cultures. Pioneer attitudes survived in the exploitation rather than conservation of the soil and other natural resources.

The industrial revolution came to Harlan with great suddenness in the summer of 1911. A railroad was built up to the headwaters of the Cumberland and mines were driven into the seams of coal which lay exposed along the sides of the valleys. Within three years coal production reached a million tons annually, by 1921 it was nearly seven million tons, while in 1928 and 1929 fifteen million tons were produced a year, a figure which has been exceeded only three times since then. The coal industry has come completely to dominate Harlan's life with

70 per cent of the men in the county in 1940 being engaged in mining.

Population growth has kept pace with this industrial development. From 10,566 people in 1910 the population tripled in ten years to 31,546 in 1920. It doubled in the next decade to 64,557 and reached a total of 75,274 in 1940. Most of these people came from nearby mountain counties bringing with them cultural backgrounds and personality traits similar to those of the older Harlan residents. In the early days of mining some Negroes and foreign-born laborers entered the county, but they have never been a large proportion of the population and their presence has not created serious social problems. Since the majority of the in-migrants travelled relatively short distances most of them brought their families with them, thus causing no major dislocation of the sex ratio as often occurs in new mining areas. Even so, in 1920 there was an average of 131 males 21 years of age and over for every 100 females, most of this excess being Negroes and foreign-born men who presumably had migrated from greater distances.

The development of coal mining and the enormous increase in population destroyed the stabilized frontier culture. The most immediate consequence was the disruption of the economic life of the county.

Instead of the security provided by the older self-sufficient agriculture there was substituted the instability of industrial employment. A man's livelihood now depended on fluctuations in the national economy which were entirely outside his control. The miner worked when there was a demand for coal, but he was left destitute when the demand declined as happened during the depression of the 1930's. The mountain man also had to surrender the freedom and timelessness which he had enjoyed on his isolated farm for the routine of mine whistles and fixed hours of work.

With this change in occupation money assumed a dominant place in the county's life. The friendly barter system disappeared and human relations came to be measured in terms of wages and profits. The frontier

<sup>3</sup> James G. Leyburn, *Frontier Folkways*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, Chapter IV.

culture had not emphasized thrift or given experience in the wise use of money. The insecurity of industrial employment and the occupational hazards of mining tended to develop a fatalistic attitude which militated against careful planning for the future. Thus there was little incentive to save, and wages were generally spent with reckless abandon as rapidly as received. Even today most mountain miners are notoriously improvident in handling money.

The most serious aspect of economic disorganization developed in the relations between the mine operators and the workers. Instead of the older social equality a rigid class system was introduced. Men were now either bosses or laborers, with obedience expected from subordinates. The mountain man turned miner continued to feel that he was as good as anyone else and resented being ordered around by mine foremen and other company officials.

Industrial relations were made more difficult by the intransigent attitude of many of the mine operators who came to Harlan from older coal fields. They were determined to keep firm control over their workers and to prevent the entrance of labor unions in this new mining area. The Harlan County Coal Operators Association which includes most of the owners has steadily resisted the advance of organized labor. Philip Murray, then an official of the United Mine Workers of America, stated in 1937 that the Harlan operators were the only group in the entire Appalachian coal area who refused to negotiate with the union.

During the first World War labor unions gained a temporary foothold in the county but afterwards they practically disappeared. The depression of the 1930's and the suffering which it brought, together with favorable New Deal legislation, resulted in renewed efforts to unionize Harlan, first by the United Mine Workers and then by a Communist-influenced group. Violence flared up repeatedly with assassinations, pitched battles, and wide-spread suppression of civil rights of the miners. The state militia was sent in on three occasions during this decade to restore peace. So serious did the situation

become that a congressional committee under the chairmanship of Senator LaFollette investigated Harlan conditions in 1937. The Federal government the next year indicted a large number of individuals and companies for a conspiracy to deny workingmen the right to organize or join labor unions. A conviction was not obtained, but the long trial exposed the lawlessness and violence of industrial relations in the county.

More far-reaching than the disruption of the economic organization was the breakdown of the older community structure. People who had always lived in stable primary groups were thrown together with masses of other uprooted individuals. The restraints of family clan and neighborhood ceased to be effective. The social values of the frontier society lost their meaning in these new communities. Competition and exploitation replaced friendly mutual aid as social relations became casual and impersonal. The people found themselves living in a "human wilderness."<sup>4</sup>

The destruction of the older social solidarity was almost complete. As thousands of people moved into the county they were crowded together in small industrial towns. In order to obtain workers the mine companies built villages, generally known as coal camps, in the narrow valleys near the mouths of the mines. The companies owned not simply the houses but the store, church, and all other facilities. The miners had no voice in governing these villages nor any sense of local responsibility. Lacking any attachment to these company camps and having no connections with the strangers surrounding them, it is not surprising that miners and their families moved frequently from one camp to another.

The ties of the family clan tended to disintegrate under the impact of this new way of life. Even within the small family group there was a serious readjustment of member roles. The father who had operated his small farm with the help of the whole

<sup>4</sup>W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York: Knopf, 1927, Vol. II, p. 1774.

family now was away all day in the mine. The care and discipline of the children thus fell almost entirely on the mother. Life in the company villages brought a loss to the wife of domestic handicraft and agricultural functions. She no longer preserved and stored the winter's supply of food. Instead, daily supplies were bought in paper bags and tin cans on credit at the company store. The children had no farm chores or other duties and had little to do except to associate with other idle companions. The disorganizing effect of these changes is reflected in the rapid rise of the divorce rate. Between 1922 and 1932 there was approximately one divorce for every four marriages, an increase of 80 per cent over the rate between 1901 and 1906.

With the disruption of the older community and family controls, crime and vice increased greatly. The mountain miner was often restless and bewildered by his new environment. He preserved his traditional feeling of independence and resented any insults, either real or fancied. He found relaxation in drinking and continued his familiarity with firearms. Out of this combination grew many drunken brawls and shootings. Between 1920 and 1925 the annual number of recorded murders averaged 78 per 100,000, which is reported to have been higher than for any other county in the United States. This figure, moreover, does not represent all of the murders, for it is general knowledge in the county that many killings take place which are never officially reported.

Prostitution and venereal disease were apparently unknown in the pre-industrial period. With the coming of good roads and automobiles there was a wide development of roadhouses which became centers of gambling, prostitution, drunkenness, and murder. In the summer of 1942 there were over forty such establishments or an average of one for every three miles of paved road in the county. So serious did the problem of venereal infection become that during the second World War the United States Public Health Service established a special vene-

real disease clinic in the county as a war measure to assure the maximum production of coal.

The political organization of the county has also been affected by the rapid social and economic changes. Before 1911 political campaigns were spirited and often involved intense rivalries, but they were essentially peaceful. There was some nepotism in the operation of the county government but apparently no serious cases of graft or dishonesty. Recent years, however, have seen widespread corruption, killing of officials, stealing of elections, stuffing of ballot boxes with false votes, and many other forms of political dishonesty. The conflict between mine operators and workers has been projected into local politics. The LaFollette investigation revealed that most of the deputy sheriffs in the county were paid by the mine companies. The political influence of the operators is seen in the fact that at the time of this investigation the secretary of the Coal Operators Association was the chairman of the county Republican committee while the president of the Association was head of the county Democratic committee. The properties of the coal companies are grossly under-assessed, thus depriving the county of sufficient tax revenue to support an adequate educational program and other public services.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the attempts of labor and capital to control the county government, there are bitter rivalries between individual politicians and cliques. It is commonly believed that the roadhouses have had political protection and that certain politicians have shared in their profits. A climax in the stealing of elections seems to have been reached in 1942 when dishonesty was so extensive in the election of a United States senator that federal indictments were returned against 99 persons, with the United States Supreme Court ultimately confirming

<sup>5</sup> "Public Education in Harlan County, Kentucky," *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Services*, College of Education, University of Kentucky, Vol. XX, (December, 1947), p. 51.

the conviction of 17 of the defendants.

Recent years have witnessed a slow stabilization of conditions and a gradual adjustment of the people to the routine of industrial society. There has been no major expansion of coal mining since 1928. In 1941 a labor contract was signed providing for a union shop and compulsory arbitration, and since then industrial relations have been relatively peaceful. The rate of population growth has levelled off and the sex ratio is becoming less unbalanced. In 1940 there were 114 males 21 years of age and over per 100 females, and almost all of the excess males were in the age group of 40 years and over.

A sense of public responsibility regarding some of the county's most serious social conditions is developing. Many people are sensitive to the national publicity and bad reputation which the county has acquired. In 1942 after a campaign sponsored by the churches, the county adopted local prohibition. This law has not eliminated all drunkenness, and its enforcement has involved considerable violence and corruption, but it has resulted in closing the roadhouses and thus eliminating some of the worst centers of crime and vice. Improved social conditions are also indicated by the decline in the official homicide rate which was approximately 23 per 100,000 in 1944 and 1945, or only a third of the rate in the early 1920's.

The county now has a public health department and most of the school children receive inoculations and vaccinations against the main communicable diseases. The death rate for most causes is very much lower than twenty or thirty years ago due to a large number of doctors and better sanitary conditions. A number of youth organizations have been developed and a County Planning Board is interested in providing better recreational facilities for young people. There are about 2,500 Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, or approximately a quarter of all the children from 10 to 15 years of age in the county. A number of 4-H Clubs have a total of 1,200 members. A county-

wide community chest raises money for six welfare organizations.

The process of reorganization has been slow, and conditions are by no means fully stabilized yet. A deep cleavage continues to separate workers and operators, and the hostility of these two groups influences almost every aspect of the county's life. Memories of past injustices live on and there has been no real substitution of cooperation for the tradition of industrial conflict. A very unequal distribution of wealth exists, and those who have become rich have shown very little responsibility in matters of civic welfare. There is only a small middle class of independent business and professional people. This is not a very effective force in mediating between the two major antagonistic classes, but this group is gradually assuming leadership in various matters of public improvement. The five civic clubs in the county are made up largely of persons from this new middle class.

Nearly nine-tenths of the miners still live in company villages where there is no home ownership or right of local self-government. In some of the larger communities, such as those owned by the United States Steel Corporation and the International Harvester Company, living conditions are relatively good and the population is quite stable. But many other camps are rural slums with dilapidated housing and irresponsible, shiftless tenants. There will be little development of social stability or community loyalty in Harlan as long as most of the county's miners continue to live in these company-owned slums.

In comparison with other mining counties in the Kentucky mountains, Harlan experienced a more rapid invasion of mining and a greater expansion of population. As a result Harlan has suffered more serious disorganization. Under the impact of this new economy most of the physical and social characteristics of the earlier frontier culture have been swept away. The ballads, folk dances, and dialect of the older days have all disappeared along with the handicraft industries and other material traits. The most



resistant elements of the older culture have been the personality traits of the people. Beneath the veneer of modern industrial society there survives a feeling of individual independence, a resentment of inequalities and discipline, a distrust of strangers, and a tendency to personal violence.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The social changes in Harlan are similar to

those experienced by immigrant groups which have moved from stable agricultural societies into modern industrial communities. The problems of Polish immigrants have been much like those of the mountain farmers who flocked to Harlan's coal mines. "The prevalent general social unrest and demoralization is due to the decay of primary-group organization, which gave the individual a sense of responsibility and security because he belonged to something." Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 1826.

## PROBLEMS IN POSTDIVORCE ADJUSTMENT\*

WILLIAM J. GOODE

Wayne University

A REPORT on research in progress, the present discussion concerns a pilot study of the postdivorce adjustment of 100 urban mothers, and the field problems encountered in that study as well as in a subsequent study based on a still larger sample. In spite of the problems, the paucity of field research in this area seemed to justify a presentation of some of the data.

The earlier study, completed in March, 1948, formed the basis of a later investigation of approximately 450 urban mothers, aged 20-38, who have undergone a divorce. Attempts to solve the earlier field problems have restructured the research design and the focus of several hypotheses.

This report touches on the following three aspects of the research: (1) The shaping of divorce research by American value orientations; (2) The technical problems of field research in postdivorce adjustment; and (3) Some of the data tentatively drawn from the present sample of 450 divorced urban mothers as well as the earlier sample of one hundred.

A fairly diligent search of professional journals since 1935 discloses no more than perhaps three or four published investigations which could be categorized as dealing with adjustment to divorce.<sup>1</sup> And there is

no systematic field study of the divorce adjustment process in a representative and adequate sample of any population segment. Excluded, of course, are a few case history summaries, as well as a number of popular articles. This lack of field research seems surprising, since it is generally agreed that divorce is a major personal crisis. Further, this personal crisis is the prospective experience of one-fifth to one-fourth of all American adults who live an average life span.<sup>2</sup>

In the broader framework of social theory, such an investigation could contribute as a subsidiary body of information to several other problem areas. Examples are: (1) Indices of social change and social integration; (2) The problem of social disorganiza-

tion. To Each Other" *American Sociological Review*, III, (1938), 695-699; Harvey J. Locke, "Predicting Marital Adjustment by Comparing a Divorced and a Happily Married Group," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 187-191; and Harvey J. Locke and William J. Klausner, "Marital Adjustment of Divorced Persons in Subsequent Marriages," *Sociology and Social Research*, 33 (1948), 97-101.

<sup>2</sup>The exact figure would depend on the estimates of changes in marital status, and the particular year chosen. However, if one assumes that one out of four marriages will end in divorce, and nine out of ten persons living out an average life expectancy will marry (see T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948, pp. 135 ff.), the chances of divorce fall between one in four and one in five. For corroboration of this admittedly crude estimate, see Paul C. Glick, "Class Differences in Remarriage," *American Sociological Society meeting Chicago*, December 28, 1948.

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Popenoe, "The Remarriage of Divorcees

tion as this relates and contributes to personal disorganization; (3) Socialization patterns and their contribution to the formation of the personalities which differentially participate in marital disruption; or (4) The processes of group and personal crisis. There are, of course, other subsidiary areas.

The lack of systematic field research on the adjustment process deserves some comment. All research is motivated and directed in part by the biases and values of the culture. Such values need not, though of course they may, weaken the validity of research.

The relevant values shaping divorce research center mostly about a value core of Western society sometimes called the "ethical valuation of the individual."<sup>3</sup> This has many ramifications, but its chief bifurcation is (A) the importance of the individual and his happiness; and (B) a belief in the power of the individual to shape his action patterns rationally, once he has been presented with an adequate set of facts. Of the numerous major research approaches to divorce, almost all have as their main implicit goal the accumulation of whatever data may be necessary for choosing a path of happiness.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>See Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>4</sup>These seem to fall under seven main rubrics: (1) Moral-ethical: investigations by men seriously interested in social science, but with a major interest in the moral dilemmas presented by divorce, and the implications for the larger society. Examples would be the works of Bertrand Russell, Floyd Dell, V. F. Calverton, or J. P. Lichtenberger. (2) Social work: perhaps the work of the Mowbrers has been most fruitful in this direction. (3) Divorce as a historical phenomenon, an index of social and moral weakening: the works of Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman are the clearest examples. (4) Divorce as an element in the calculation of indices of marital adjustment: Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Harvey J. Locke, Richard Otto Lang. (5) Psychoanalytic: Wilhelm Stekel, Wilhelm Reich. (6) Demographic: Alfred Cahen, I. Rubinow, Samuel Stouffer, numerous reports by the Census Bureau and by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (7) Social Psychological, a concentration on the emotional processes of adjustment: Willard Waller, Ernest W. Burgess, and Harvey J. Locke. As must be obvious, these are only examples, and some men have done research from more than one of these approaches.

This focus on happiness has caused divorce to be seen as an end point, a finality. Analysis has therefore concentrated on the processes and factors leading to this crisis. Divorce is an official recognition of unhappiness, and a negation of the romantic complex which in the opinion of many clinicians caused the marriage in the first place. For those sociologists who are nostalgic for the rural harmony which they so precipitously left as youngsters, it is a further index of the *anomie* of modern urban life. This implicit shaping of research is seen again in the frequent attempts to view the divorce adjustment process as a type of bereavement, following Waller's lead.<sup>5</sup>

Waller's data were drawn from only thirty-three selected cases, and were gathered in the late 1920's. There has been little testing of his conclusions, it may be suggested, simply because they fitted so well our attitudes toward divorce. In spite of numerous qualifications, Waller pictured the postdivorce process as essentially a traumatic one, with a considerable breakdown of values and standards, and there seemed little hope of happiness for the divorcee. The divorcee's happiness in remarriage to the former spouse was treated by Popenoe in 1938, using a collection of cases obtained from newspaper clippings, his Institute, and students' reports. Locke in 1947, and Locke and Klausner in 1948, published Burgess-Cottrell adjustment ratings of a group of divorcees.<sup>6</sup> Otherwise, even this notion, that the divorcee is a poor marital risk, has not been questioned.

As a consequence of such research-shaping factors, Waller's work remains the base line for any analysis of the postdivorce adjustment process. Yet a word of caution is

<sup>5</sup>Willard Waller, *The Old Love And The New*, New York: Liveright, 1930.

<sup>6</sup>Paul Popenoe, "The Remarriage of Divorcees to Each Other" *American Sociological Review*, III (1938), 695-699. Harvey J. Locke, "Predicting Marital Adjustment by Comparing a Divorced and a Happily Married Group," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 187-191; and Harvey J. Locke and William J. Klausner, "Marital Adjustment of Divorced Persons in Subsequent Marriages," *Sociology and Social Research*, 33 (1948), 97-101.

in order. It is possible that since the late 1920's some attitude changes have occurred which may facilitate postdivorce adjustment. Only two need be suggested here: (1) The divorcee may be much less stigmatized, and thus have more opportunities to contract new friendships or a marriage; and (2) The spread of divorce to such large segments of the population may mean that divorce itself is less of a selective process, so that increasingly the break is between individuals who are only mutually incompatible, and not those unable to adjust to any marriage partner at all.

Although the apparent importance and neglect of this area seemed to justify field research, the pilot study showed numerous technical difficulties in the way of following an adequate research design. Under this heading of research design, the second section in this paper, three items may be selected for discussion: (1) The sample; (2) Mobility; and (3) Interviewing.

Since the focus of the research was to study adjustment to divorce, it was thought useful to begin with a sample whose adjustment problems might be sharply drawn. They were all to be mothers, and for the present larger study they are all in the age span 20-38 years. They are residents of metropolitan Detroit. Being mothers, they would have been married longer than the average divorcee, and their ties with ex-spouses would presumably be stronger. Their sex would be expected to create a slightly greater financial problem than would be the case for the husband. The presence of children would add to the financial problem and, in addition might create added emotional difficulties. Further, this age group still has a considerable chance of remarriage, from 80 to over 95 chances in a hundred.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence, they faced the double problem

of an adjustment to the ex-spouse and an adjustment to dating and a new marriage.

Four groups were selected from complete county divorce files. Each such group included one month's divorcees, who received their divorces at one of four periods, to wit, two months, eight months, fourteen months, and twenty-six months, prior to initiation of interviewing. In Detroit, there is no apparent religious or ethnic bias to these segments.

It may be suggested that the choice of a group so closely defined as to age, sex, maternity, residence, and time divorced would allow a smaller study group than five hundred. However, the usual sampling procedure by which one selects smaller groups, using the known relevant characteristics of the universe for checking the same characteristics in the sample, with the implicit inference that thereby one maintains control over the elements not yet known, is applicable to only a part of divorce research.<sup>8</sup>

For many years, even such a basic datum as the national total of divorces has been lacking, except for estimates. Naturally, then, one expects important lacunas in those data which would insure a check on the representativeness of a sample. As a consequence, few have attempted to control divorce samples by known characteristics of some larger universe, and these have been forced to take as that larger universe the total population.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise, they must create an artificial married group to match

<sup>7</sup> As a matter of fact, it is not clear that the usual external controlling items, such as age, sex, socio-economic status, education, and so on, are at all adequate for the control of samples to be used for social psychological investigation of emotional processes. For a brief but excellent critique, see Arthur Kornhauser, "Analysis of 'Class' Structure of Contemporary American Society—Psychological Bases of Class Divisions," *Industrial Conflict: A Psychological Interpretation*, 1939 yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, eds. G. W. Hartmann and Theodore Newcomb, pp. 119-264.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Clarence Wesley Schroeder, *Divorce In A City Of 100,000 Population* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1939), Bradley Polytechnic Institute Library, Peoria, Illinois, 1939; Locke, *op. cit.*, and Locke and Klausner, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> "The Chances of Remarriage for the Widowed and Divorced," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 26:5:1-3. These calculations are based on the marriage records for 22 states and Washington, D.C., the remarriage records for New England and particularly Massachusetts, using mortality rates by marital status of the state of New York, excluding New York City.

the artificial sample. Yet it must be clear that while such a comparison is better as a sampling basis than newspaper clippings of interesting cases, it still falls short of an adequate divorce universe, since the divorce group has different characteristics than the total population.

A census run on the category "Divorced" would perhaps be better than a comparison with the general population. Nevertheless, even this would not yield the needed data. Those who admitted a divorced status in the Census of 1940 numbered about half the number who had obtained divorces during the previous twelve years. Even if all the loss is due to a high rate of remarriage, the fact remains that the category "Divorced" is not identical with the category "Ever divorced." Correspondence with several of the major cities in the United States reveals that this information on the national level is paralleled at the city level.

We can, nevertheless, make some rough guesses about the nature of the sample which ought to result if an adequate number of cases is polled in a statistically random fashion. It should have an average educational and income level slightly lower than that of the general population, since a higher divorce rate is to be found at the lower levels. The very lowest class ought to have a representation, after weighting for the difference in population base, slightly higher than most professional groups, but lower than other groups. Analyses of family structures for Negroes suggest that these statements would require only slight adjustments. We would expect the Catholic groups to be underrepresented. The above statements can be inferred from the ecological work of Schoeder and of Bossard, from the adjustment index research of Lang, and of Burgess and Cottrell, from the secondary school children questionnaire of Weeks, and from the census data reported by Glick, as well as family analyses by Frazier and others.<sup>10</sup>

However, it is abundantly clear that such

general notions do not offer an adequate basis for judging the representativeness of a divorce sample. It should be also clear that no improvement in controls is obtained by matching the divorced group with a married group, when the representativeness of neither is known, and when our knowledge has progressed beyond the question of whether there is any effect at all from divorce.

A close analysis of the characteristics of our base sample, including nontraceables, refusals, and successes, is not available at present. However, a few summarizing data may be presented, drawn from the base sample cards. It must be remembered that the universe is rather closely defined: urban divorced mothers whose ages ranged from 20 to 38 years at the time of divorce. Their median age was 29.2 years, on a base of 815 cases of known ages. This figure is not far from median ages for all divorced women in other demographic studies, but this is because of our upper cutoff age of 38 years. The median age for husbands, with no such limitation on range, is 31.5 on a base of 729 cases.

Race is more difficult to determine prior to completion of interviewing, but on a base of 360 checked cases, the Negro group constitutes 19% of the cases, although constituting only 15% of the Detroit population.<sup>11</sup> This may seem to refute the common

*American Journal of Sociology*, 40 (1935), 503-7; Richard Otto Lang, *A Study of the Degree of Happiness or Unhappiness in Marriage as Rated by Acquaintances of the Married Couples*, M. A. thesis, Chicago University, June, 1932; Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939; H. Ashley Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupations," *Social Forces*, 21 (1943), 334-337; E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in The United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; and Paul C. Glick, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Estimate obtained from Richard Marks, Research Director of the Detroit Interracial Commission, as of December, 1948. Because the influx of Negroes since 1940 has been heavy, the census data are not adequate. Further, census data are difficult to compare with the metropolitan area, since Detroit encloses several municipalities, and part of the urban spread includes sections tabulated under Wayne County only.

<sup>10</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, chs. III and IV; J. H. S. Bossard, "Spatial Distribution of Divorced Women,"



assumption that Negroes fail to use the divorce courts. However, (1) it seems likely that somewhat the same class patterns of divorce rates are to be found in both white and Negro and, (2) the highly skewed Negro class structure would place a larger proportion in the groups most subject to divorce.

Religion may be noted, drawn, however, only from our base sample cards. Protestants constitute 57.2% of the divorces, Catholics 30.7%, and Jews 4.9%, on a base of 815 cases.<sup>12</sup> These figures change only slightly when marriages are grouped into like-unlike religious backgrounds, all three of these groups decreasing somewhat, and the difference being mostly made up by the mixed Catholic-Protestant divorces.

Secondly, with respect to mobility, elaborate techniques were used for tracing individuals. The pilot study had shown this would be a major problem, the number of nontraceable mobiles at that time approximating 50%. This is not a stable figure, of course, since many apparent nontraceables can be found by other means. In this study, the nontraceable mobiles would bias the sample through loss of the lower class and the young, unless controlled. Possibly this is a standard bias when specific individuals are chosen from earlier records. That the percentage of loss is likely to be high in urban areas can be seen in the studies by Mandel, Chapin and Jahn, and Christiansen, among others.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The Detroit Council of Churches gives this admittedly crude estimate for the area used: Catholics 40%, Protestants 55% Jews 2.5%. No adequate data exist. The 1946 Census of Religious Bodies has not been tabulated.

<sup>13</sup> Nathan Mandel, *A Controlled Analysis Of The Relationship Of Boy Scout Tenure And Participation To Community Adjustment*, M. A. thesis, University of Minnesota, July, 1938; F. Stuart Chapin and J. A. Jahn, "The Advantages of Work Relief Over Direct Relief in Maintaining Morale in St. Paul in 1939," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45 (1940), 13-22; and Mrs. Helen F. Christiansen, *The Relationship of School Progress, Measured in Terms of the Total Amount of School Attendance or Course Completion, to Subsequent Economic Adjustment*, M. A. thesis, University of Minnesota, June, 1938. See the analysis of these losses in F.

It is suggested that any such investigation of specific individuals must make known the percentage of loss from nontraceable mobiles, together with available data on their characteristics if at all possible. In addition, the refusals should also be presented separately, again with any available data concerning them.

Tracing techniques included the following:

- (1) Ascertaining from the divorce files the first address of respondent when a first investigation of the couple was made by the County Friend of the Court.
- (2) Any later address from later contacts with the Friend of the Court was used to check the first address.
- (3) A cross-index telephone directory, listing telephones by street address, was used to call these addresses, neighboring houses, or the ex-husband, in an effort to locate the respondent. This saved hundreds of hours of interviewer time. A false explanation of the purpose of the call was used.
- (4) The Detroit Interracial Commission aided in checking both the address and the race of the respondent.
- (5) Postal carrier information was utilized by a card tracer system suggested by the post office, for those who remained.
- (6) Special delivery envelopes with return address requested were sent in several waves, at a cost of fifty-four cents each. These letters did not contain a request for an interview.
- (7) Relief agencies were also checked, in order to avoid losing lower class groups.
- (8) Interviewers were instructed to track down the respondents at all costs. This often required canvassing several successive neighborhoods for information.

It may be mentioned that even utilization of such extreme measures still leaves a considerable number of nontraceable mobiles in the present larger study, calculated roughly as 19% from a base sample of 815.

The data on refusals can best be presented in the next section, the interview. Field interviewing allowed a judgement concerning

Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Design in Sociological Research*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.

the truth and meaning of an answer, as well as the condition of the home. In addition, the inevitable education bias of the mailed questionnaire was avoided, as well as the bias from an overrepresentation of those actively interested in personal improvement or uplift. Since interviewers were instructed to make a direct contact with the respondent without previously requesting an interview, a better classification of refusals could be made.

Yet, any research into intensely emotional and personal factors depends basically on the type of interviewing skills utilized. Here, as in the case of Locke's Indiana study, a number of interviewers were used, Negro and white; their median age was 26.5 years.<sup>14</sup> Almost all had had previous interviewing experience, but in addition went through a training period extending over several weeks, including six hours of actual interview rehearsals, from opening address to closing comments. Detailed training was necessary, since the 26-page schedule is written in a conversational style with transition comments requiring an easy flow of reading.

Experience in the pilot study indicated that the interview introduction should be structured so as to allow the potential respondent little opportunity to refuse. Interviewers were instructed to make such a good opening impression that they would have to give necessary explanations only after entering the respondent's home.

The refusal rate in the pilot study was 14%, and runs approximately 12% in the present study. Because of the subject-matter and the recency of all divorces, there have been even violent refusals. For example, one of our interviewers was driven away by a pistol.

There are two obvious possibilities of biases from refusals. One of these is a class bias, since the lower classes may yield a

slightly higher refusal rate.<sup>15</sup> The other is that the refusals are the more extreme cases. At the present time, no such pattern is visible. Refusals fall into three main groups, which can be designated roughly as: (1) Lower class fear, whether in the form of a suspicious second husband or a general suspicion of middle class outsiders;<sup>16</sup> (2) Middle class stiffness, usually an icily polite refusal without explanation; and (3) Maternal overprotection. It may be mentioned in passing that this third group has been preponderant. When the respondent is alone, *men* interviewers have a lower refusal rate. On completion of interviewing, the county files will be analyzed for more specific data on refusals.<sup>17</sup>

Space prevents an adequate discussion of the tentative results of the pilot study. However, two points may be briefly presented: A. The so-called "trauma" of divorce; and B. The incompatibility of roles in the post-divorce adjustment process.

A note of caution is in order. Here, as in many researches of adjustment patterns, we can describe only the respondent's definition of the situation as given in the interview. Consequently, there are a number of deviations from reality to be kept in mind, under the following main rubrics: (1) Cases in which the respondent simply lies; (2) Stereotyped or lazy answers, often in conformity with social expectations; (3) Situations seen in only a partial view—for example, her idea of what the husband was doing; (4) The actual reconstruction of reality by emotional needs, not as a neurot-

<sup>14</sup> See Hadley Cantril and Research Associates, *Gauging Public Opinion*, Princeton University, 1944, pp. 119-123.

<sup>15</sup> As an aspect of interviewer approach, it may be mentioned that in lower class areas the most successful identificatory opening was a friendly "Mrs. Jones?" with a rising inflection of near assurance. To say, "I am looking for Mrs. Jones," resulted frequently in a denial of identity, or in misinformation, including a denial of the divorce itself.

<sup>17</sup> This is possible, since all divorces involving children require, prior to the decree, an investigation of the couple, the home, occupation, religion, etc., by the Michigan Friend of the Court. These data are contained in the divorce file.

<sup>16</sup> In spite of numerous precautions, in a few cases Negroes obtained interviews from whites, and vice versa. Invariably, these were mixed areas with less racial tension than other sectors, and the respondent showed no trace of resistance, in agreement with Simmel's analysis of the "stranger."

ic response; (5) Possible cases of actual neurosis. Whatever these deviations from "objective reality," however, it is the problems in her situational definition which she must face. It may be suggested Number (4), the reconstruction of reality by emotional needs, is relevant to both the points under brief discussion, the so-called "trauma" of divorce, and the role incompatibility of the divorced.<sup>18</sup>

Waller compared the divorce situation to bereavement, noting that although many of the structural components are similar—for example, absence of former spouse, cessation of sexual relations with spouse, usually lowered income, ambivalence of sorrow, perseveration of old habit patterns, and so on—the divorcee lacks the institutionalized patterns which shape and ease the reactions of the widow. As a consequence, the divorcee is placed in several sets of either undefined or incompatible roles. Some of the former center about friends of both spouses. The incompatible roles, however, are related more closely to the fact that the divorcee may be very unhappy about the marital failure, and even be attached to the former husband, but must instead show little sorrow or continued affection.

As a consequence, whenever the divorcee is permitted, she is likely to give a stereotyped answer, one in conformity with public social expectations. She will describe her feelings toward the former spouse as those of indifference. Exactly half of the pilot group gave this response. Only one out of ten expressed strong affection. One out of four admitted a desire that their husbands be punished. Yet side comments and answers to open-ended questions revealed considerable emotion, sometimes strongly negative, of course. Further, all gave some main cause for the divorce, and only one out of ten indicated an unemotional recognition of fault on both sides. Finally, almost one out

of four admitted that under certain circumstances they might be willing to remarry the former spouse.

The actional correlative of this socially expected indifference is an extensive social life. Almost all made specific attempts to fill the social gap caused by the absence of the husband. Almost half were helped by relatives or friends in meeting eligible men, and one-third looked up friends they knew before the marriage. Other indices of social activities were apparent, but they were not ordinarily opportunities for discussing adjustment problems. Interviewers were frequently told that this had been the first opportunity for talking out their problems and emotions. This was particularly the case for divorcees in Catholic circles, which generally disapproved of the divorce.

The incompatibility of roles is quite clear, as well as the attempt to facilitate an internal resolution of emotional problems through external conformity with expectation. Yet it is obvious that such incompatibilities are in themselves a source of emotional difficulty. It seems likely that a major element in the so-called "divorce trauma" is the presence of such antitheses. However, neither the phasal location of such a disorganization nor its pattern is simply described. If such incompatibilities are indeed a major element in personal disorganization, such a trauma should appear *before* the divorce itself, when the role incompatibilities of wife and opponent, companion and inquisitor, come into focus. Whatever later analysis will show, it is evident that there is no consistently traumatic pattern consequent on the divorce itself. Repeated questions about sleep, forgetfulness, increased smoking and drinking, failure in efficiency or energy, lonesomeness, and so on reveal no definite pattern in the pilot study. Perhaps the present study, with a larger group, will show instead a number of sub-patterns, and the hypothesis is being tested that if such patterns exist, they are class structured, or at least more apparent in professional and the middle class groups generally. Certainly the phasal location must be pushed to a point

<sup>18</sup> Because: (1) An element in that trauma is the need to reconstruct reality so as to be able to adjust it; and (2) frequently the reconstruction of reality is the major method of adjusting role incompatibilities.

prior to the divorce itself, possibly the time of final decision to divorce.

The present discussion has centered about three points: (1) Factors in American culture which have led to an avoidance of the postdivorce adjustment process; (2) Technical problems of sampling, mobility, and interviewing which must be met in a field study of this process; and (3) Two of the tentative suggestions to be drawn from a pilot study which is now being followed by a larger study based on a similar research design.

As a study in the social psychology of the personal crisis, divorce offers a series of recurring and increasingly large number of cases with enough structural elements in common to allow a fairly clear statement of the process, once the major facts have been outlined. That such information would also be of practical use to marital counselors in aiding those planning a divorce or those going through a divorce goes without saying. However, the focus of the present study is on the description of the major elements in the postdivorce adjustment process.

## MARRIAGES OF MIXED AND NON-MIXED RELIGIOUS FAITH\*

JUDSON T. LANDIS

*Michigan State College*

THE TEACHER of courses treating modern marriage becomes a counselor on many types of courtship problems whether or not he wishes to counsel.

In Michigan we are often asked for help from students contemplating mixed marriages. They want to know what their chances are for success in such a marriage. Mixed marriages have been defined as marriages in which there are significant, obvious and unusual differences between the spouses, other than sex. Differences in faith, race, and nationality are the ones usually considered as falling under the definition of mixed marriages. Sometimes differences in intelligence, education, age, social and economic status, physical size, and difference in previous marital status are listed as factors constituting mixture. It is usually assumed that extreme differences in background foster marital discord rather than marital rapport. However, the research that has been done indicates that some of these factors cannot properly be said to have an adverse effect upon marital adjust-

ment. Research by Terman and Hamilton and our research at Michigan State College revealed that husbands in marriages in which the wife had more education than the husband were happier than the average husband. In an analysis of the divorce rate by educational differences in 3,796 marriages we found the lowest divorce rate in marriages in which the wife was older than her husband. Available research emphasizes how little is known about contrasts in spouses and the possible effect of such contrasts upon marital adjustment.

At present, since there is little or no research on other so-called mixtures, we do not know whether they are positively or negatively associated with success in marriage. When a young woman marries above herself socially and economically, newspaper accounts might point to the conclusion that she has done well for herself. This year we had a typical Cinderella story, the coal miner's daughter who married the millionaire. Many marriage counselors would consider this a type of mixed marriage with little chance for success. However, research has not yet warranted any definite conclusions as to this particular type of mixture. It may be that such a marriage has a better chance for a

\*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.



high happiness rating than the average marriage. We do not know.

This paper is not reporting a study of all types of mixed marriages; it deals specifically with inter-faith marriages. The need remains for further study of other types of mixed marriages.

Catholics, Protestants, and Jews have frowned upon mixed marriages and have done much to discourage their young people from entering mixed unions. Some young people feel that the discouraging of mixed unions among the followers of the different faiths is largely a battle for souls and that there is no practical reason why they should not enter mixed marriages. Many young people today are probably not much interested in the struggle for souls, but they are interested in knowing whether a mixed marriage has less chance for success than marriage within a faith.

In an attitude study among 2,000 students 50 per cent of them said that other things being equal with respect to the prospective spouse, they would marry into a different faith. There was little divergence between the responses of Catholics and of Protestants. One-third of those who would marry outside their faith would be willing to change to the faith of the partner. Protestant students were more willing to change than Catholics. The attitude expression of students on inter-faith marriages is quite in contrast to the feeling of most church leaders, both Catholic and Protestant. Edgar Schmiedeler, director of the family life bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, says, "Since courtship is the beginning which leads ultimately to a marriage contract, the sound starting point toward this goal will be to avoid courtship with any and all non-Catholics."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the strong Catholic stand on the matter, Clement S. Mihanovich of St. Louis University recently reported, after a survey of all dioceses, that 25 per cent of Roman Catholics married outside the faith.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Schmiedeler, *Marriage and the Family*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Family Life*, December, 1948, p. 6.

To gain more information on the success or failure of marriages of mixed and non-mixed religious faith we collected, for 3 years, information on their parents' marriages from the students in our marriage lecture sections. Early in the course and before the subject of mixed marriages had been discussed, each student was asked to complete a questionnaire which gave several facts about his parents' marriage, such as age when married, occupation, education, religion, present marital status, whether either parent changed religious faith at or after marriage, who took the responsibility for giving the religious training, how much conflict over religion had been evident to the children, and the eventual faith chosen by the children.

This discussion is a summary of the information gained on religion in the parent families. We have to date the histories of 4,108 families. Of these, almost two thirds, 2,794, were both Protestant. Almost one-third were either Catholic (573) or Catholic non-Catholic mixed (346). Of the 1492 individual Catholics in the study, 346 or 23 per cent had married outside the Catholic faith. In 192 of these 346 marriages, each spouse maintained his or her own religion after marriage; in 113 either the Catholic or the Protestant changed to the faith of the other; and in 41 marriages the Catholic had married a person with no religious faith.

This method of doing research has advantages as well as disadvantages. The chief advantage is that a mass of data can be collected in a short time and at little cost. The results of research are more meaningful to students when information is collected from among their own families. The research information may or may not apply to a cross section of the population. It represents the background of the young people in college classes in the Mid-west. They are upper middle class in the main. However, its results agree with those of more representative cross sectional studies.

Because of the method used in collecting the information, the evidence given will shed light only upon mixed marriages in which there are children. Approximately two out of

three couples who divorce do not have children. A study of childless mixed marriages might show entirely different results than are revealed in this study. In fact, the results of our study among couples with children would lead us to believe that if there are not children, the Catholic-Protestant marriage has few elements which would make marital adjustment difficult. It is the presence of children in the home which makes for marital conflict in the Catholic-Protestant marriage.

Table I summarizes the divorce and separation rates in our study of marriages of mixed and non-mixed religious faiths and

the divorce and separation rate in Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and mixed marriages confirms the two earlier studies. This might not be expected, since our sample was taken from people who have children in college, while the other samples were more representative of cross sections of whole communities.

Approximately 5 per cent of the Catholic and Jewish marriages had ended in divorce or separation in all three studies, 8 per cent of the Protestant marriages, 15 per cent of mixed Catholic-Protestant, and 18 per cent of the marriages in which there was no religious faith. On further analysis, we found that it makes a difference whether the mother

TABLE I. PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES OF MIXED AND NON-MIXED RELIGIOUS FAITHS ENDING IN DIVORCE OR SEPARATION AS REVEALED BY STUDIES OF MARRIAGES IN MICHIGAN, MARYLAND, AND WASHINGTON

Religious Categories		Landis study in Michigan (N-4, 108)	Bell study in Maryland (N-13, 528)	Weeks study in Washington (N-6548)
	Number	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Both Catholic	573	4.4	6.4	3.8
Both Jewish	96	5.2	4.6	—
Both Protestant	2794	6.0	6.8	10.0
Mixed, Catholic-Protestant	192	14.1	15.2	17.4
Both none	39	17.9	16.7	23.9
Protestant changed to Catholic	56	10.7		
Catholic changed to Protestant	57	10.6		
Protestant father-Catholic mother	90	6.7		
Catholic father-Protestant mother	102	20.6		
Father none-Mother Catholic	41	9.8		
Father none-Mother Protestant	84	19.0		

compares the findings with the findings of the studies made in a similar manner in different regions of the country. H. Ashley Weeks<sup>3</sup> made an analysis of 6,548 families of public and parochial school children in Spokane, Washington and Howard Bell<sup>4</sup> analyzed 13,528 families in Maryland. Weeks and Bell did not make all of the breakdowns that we have in our study. These more detailed breakdowns have revealed some interesting material on mixed marriages. Our information on

is Catholic or Protestant in the mixed marriage. The divorce rate had been highest of all in marriages of a Catholic man to a Protestant woman. Twenty-one per cent of these marriages had ended in divorce, while only seven per cent of the marriages in which a Protestant man was married to a Catholic wife had ended in divorce. It is also interesting to note that when a Catholic woman marries a man who has no religious faith the divorce rate is relatively low, 10 per hundred, when compared with other types of mixed marriages. However, when the Protestant woman married a man with no religion the divorce rate was higher, 19 per one hundred. More research is needed on the latter type of marriage. It is our theory that this type of mar-

<sup>3</sup> H. Ashley Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupation," *Social Forces*, Vol. 21, no. 3, March 1943, p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1938, p. 21.

riage would more nearly fall within the classification of both no religion.

We recognize that using the divorce rate as an index of success or failure in the mixed religious marriage does not necessarily give a true picture of marital happiness. To illustrate, the divorce rate could be low in cases in which the wife is Catholic, and yet the marriages could be unhappy. In the United States three out of four divorces are granted to women. If the wife is a good Catholic she cannot take the initiative toward divorce, although the marriage may be unhappy. On

greatest conflict seems to be the one over the religious training of the children. There is considerable publicity about the use of birth control but this does not seem to be a very serious problem. Studies have revealed that some Catholics do not follow the teachings of the church on this point. If the wife is Catholic and opposes the use of birth control, this may not result in serious conflict since she is the one who has to bear the children. In the families studied, Catholic women married to Protestants had had 2.2 children; Protestant women married to Catholics, 1.9

TABLE II. PERCENTAGES OF 392 CHILDREN BROUGHT UP IN EACH FAITH IN 192 COMPLETED FAMILIES OF PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC FAITHS

Faith of Children	Father Protestant Mother Catholic N-90				Father Catholic Mother Protestant N-102			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Catholic	70	58.8	58	75.3	31	27.2	18	22.0
Protestant	35	29.4	18	23.4	80	70.2	63	76.8
None	14	11.8	1	1.3	3	2.6	1	1.2
Total	119	100.0	77	100.0	114	100.0	82	100.0

the other hand, the Protestant wife is free to ask for a divorce if the marriage is unsatisfactory. We found, however, that there are fewer factors making for disharmony in marriages in which the mother is Catholic than there are if she is Protestant.

#### FACTORS MAKING FOR DISHARMONY IN CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT MARRIAGES

When a Protestant marries a Catholic the Protestant must sign the Ante-Nuptial Agreement in which he promises that the marriage contract can be broken only by death, that all children shall be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith even though the Catholic spouse dies, that no other marriage ceremony than that by the Catholic priest shall take place, and further he shall have respect for the religious principles and convictions of the Catholic partner on birth control.

Of all the differences between Catholics and Protestants the one making for the

children; both Catholic, 3.6 children; both Protestant, 2.7; and both Jewish, 2.1. If the use of birth control is related to the size of the family we might conclude from the above that the Catholic woman married to a Protestant uses birth control since she has a much smaller family on the average than when two Catholics marry.

Our research thus supports Baber's conclusion, after his case studies of mixed marriages, that the chief source of friction centers around the religious training of the children. Although the young couple agree before marriage that the children will be baptized in the Catholic faith, they may find they cannot follow through on this agreement in marriage. It is impossible for the Protestant member to project himself into the future and to know how he will feel as a parent. When the children arrive the couple must then face the issue in the light of their present feelings, and they often break the agreements which they sincerely made during the

period of courtship. In support of this statement we would refer to Table II, which gives the religious faith of 392 children who were reared in families of mixed Protestant-Catholic faiths. Half of the children had been reared in the Protestant faith, 45 per cent in the Catholic faith and 5 per cent had no faith. The most common tendency seems to be that the children, especially the daughters, follow the faith of the mother. Approximately 65 per cent of the boys and 75 per

cent handicap had occurred in marriages in which a Catholic man married a Protestant woman.

In the American home the mother is more likely to be a church member and is more apt to take the responsibility for the religious instruction of the children. When a man who has no faith or is a Protestant marries a Catholic woman, he signs the ante-nuptial agreement and does not find it difficult to abide by the agreement when his children

TABLE III. PARENTAL POLICY ON RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN 192 CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT FAMILIES  
(Per cent distribution)

Policy	Father Protestant Mother Catholic N-90	Father Catholic Mother Protestant N-102
Mother took all responsibility for the religious training	42.2	33.7
Our parents told us about both faiths but let us decide for ourselves when we were old enough	22.7	33.7
Responsibility was equally divided	22.7	19.1
We took turns going to both the church of my father and my mother	6.8	6.8
Father took all responsibility for the religious training	1.1	5.6
Some of us went with my father to his church and some went with my mother to her church	4.5	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0

cent of the girls follow the faith of the mother.

The children who were the products of these mixed marriages were asked to check one of six statements which best described who took the responsibility for religious training in their homes. Table III presents a description of the policies and the percentages following each policy. It will be observed that the most common policy was that "mother took all responsibility for the religious training." The next most common policy was that "our parents told us about both faiths but let us decide for ourselves when we were old enough." Both of these policies are contrary to the agreement made before marriage. When parents face reality they are more likely to follow one of these courses.

Table IV summarizes the children's beliefs as to how much of a handicap differences in religious beliefs had been to their parents' marriages. It will be observed that the great

are born. He expects his wife to be responsible for their religious training. There is then no great cause for conflict in this type of a mixed marriage.

If the mother is Protestant the marriage seems to have many more serious problems. The Protestant mother has agreed that the

TABLE IV. CHILDREN'S STATEMENTS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES HAD HANDICAPPED THE PARENTS' MARRIAGE IN MIXED AND NON-MIXED MARRIAGE OF RELIGION  
(Per cent distribution)

Degree of Handicap	Both Protestant N-721	Both Catholics N-103	Father Protestant Mother Catholic N-90	Father Catholic Mother Protestant N-102
Not at all	85.7	87.4	59.2	45.2
Very little	11.4	8.8	21.0	20.5
Somewhat	2.7	2.8	13.2	23.3
Great	.2	1.0	5.3	5.5
Very great	—	—	1.3	5.5



children will be baptized Catholic, and yet she can hardly bring up her children in a faith which she herself does not accept. Since the major responsibility for religious training falls upon her, she will probably bring the children up in the only faith she knows and believes in. This means that the agreement made before marriage must be scrapped. The Catholic husband is more apt to be a church member than the Protestant husband who marries a Catholic. It may be quite a blow to him to find that his wife will not have the children baptized into his faith. Conflict results since many Catholic fathers cannot give up without a struggle. The Catholic father not only has his own conscience to live with but he is constantly aware of the attitude of his church and of his family when they see his children being brought up in the Protestant faith.

An additional source of trouble in the mixed religious marriage is the serious and sometimes emotional interest which the in-laws take in the marriage. The two grandmothers are on the alert to see which faith will claim the grandchildren. The Protestant grandmother sometimes gives up when the son marries a Catholic because she figures that the children are lost from the beginning. On the other hand, the Catholic grandmother does all she can to see that her son's children are brought up in the Catholic faith. A careful study of in-law frictions in marriage would probably find more intense friction in cases where the children have made a mixed religious marriage.

In general, priests try to discourage mixed marriages in which the non-Catholic is strong in his faith. They may exert less pressure against the marriage if the non-Catholic is weak in his faith. The highest divorce rate was in marriages in which the largest percentage of husbands and wives were church members, i.e., the Catholic father-Protestant mother combinations. Seventy-five per cent of these husbands and wives were church members, while only 48 per cent of the husbands and 91 per cent of the wives were church members in Protestant father-Catholic mother marriages.

#### CHANGE TO FAITH OF SPOUSE

In two out of three of the mixed marriages the spouses maintained their own religious faith. In the other third of the mixed marriages one partner changed to the faith of the spouse. In 56 of the marriages the Protestant member had changed to the Catholic faith, and in 57 marriages the Catholic member had changed to the Protestant faith. What evidence we have shows that the marriage has a better chance for success when both spouses accept the same faith, that is, when one changes to the other's faith. The divorce rate had been 10.6 per cent in this type of marriage, but higher when the Catholic wife had changed to the Protestant faith (15.6) per cent and when the Protestant husband had changed to the Catholic faith (16.7 per cent).<sup>5</sup> Part of the explanation for the lower divorce rate is the lack of conflict over the religious training of the children. In these marriages, from 90 to 95 per cent of the children followed the religion of the faith adopted by the couple.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Marriages between Catholics and Protestants entail more hazards than do those between members of one faith. Although couples discuss before marriage the problems arising from religious differences, they can find no final solution to the problems and the differences do not usually decrease with the passing of time after marriage.

The divorce rate varies according to whether the wife is Catholic or Protestant in the mixed Protestant-Catholic marriage.

Children are important factors in the conflict in mixed marriages. Children tend to follow the religious faith of the mother.

#### NEEDED RESEARCH

Studies of mixed religious marriages among those who do not have children.

Study of a larger sample conducted in a manner similar to the present study to get

<sup>5</sup> When a Protestant wife changed to the Catholic faith the divorce rate was 7.9 per cent; when Catholic husband changed to Protestant it was 4.0 per cent.

larger numbers of all possible combinations.

Interview studies of mixed marriages to check on the present statistical analyses.

Studies of mixed marriages which have not ended in divorce to determine how well adjusted these couples are as compared with couples who do not make mixed marriages.

Research among marriages of different combinations of Protestants to determine whether certain of these marriages have contrasts which hinder marital adjustment.

More research to determine the chances for success in marriages of religiously oriented and non-religiously oriented persons.

## SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: A DEFINITION\*

W. B. BROOKOVER

Michigan State College

IN THE minds of educators and sociologists, the concept, sociology of education, is associated with the concept, educational sociology. For that reason any discussion of a sociology of education which this paper proposes to define must take into consideration the development of educational sociology. At the turn of the present century, there was considerable enthusiasm for the development of a new discipline or at least a branch of sociology to be known as educational sociology. By 1914,<sup>1</sup> as many as sixteen institutions were offering courses called educational sociology. In the following period numerous books carrying some type of educational sociology title came off the press. These involved various concepts of the relationship between sociology and education.

By 1923 the "National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology."<sup>2</sup> was organized. This society met with both the American Sociological Society and the Department of Superintendents. Between 1923 and 1931 three yearbooks were issued by this organization, but such publications were discontinued and the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, founded in 1928 by E. G. Payne, became the official organ of the society. The

independent existence of the society<sup>3</sup> ceased at about this time. Sociologists interested in problems of education have met as the educational section of the American Sociological Society at the annual meetings until 1948. The early demise of the National Society which was made up of both education specialists and sociologists is indicative of the divergence of interests in this group. The apparent demise of the educational sociology section suggests a lack of interest, among sociologists, in what has been known as educational sociology.

The same trend has been noted by various persons with regard to the college offerings in educational sociology. Herrington<sup>4</sup> found a decline in courses from 1926 to 1947. This decrease may be due in part to the substitution of other sociology courses for former educational sociology courses in schools of education and teachers colleges. It seems safe to say, however, that in the past few years relatively few sociologists have been interested in educational sociology, and apparently there has been no increase in interest in departments of education.

Before eliminating the area from further consideration it may be desirable to examine the reasons for such a trend and to suggest an area in which sociologists who are interested in educational institutions can make an

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> D. H. Kulp, *Educational Sociology*, New York: Longmans Green, 1932, p. 536.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 554.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 555.

<sup>4</sup> G. S. Herrington, "The Status of Educational Sociology Today," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 21, (November 1947), p. 129.

acceptable contribution. The purpose of this paper is, therefore, two-fold. First, to examine what has been included under the rubrics educational sociology and sociology of education in order to understand the trends in the field. Second, to try to delineate an area of research involving educational processes and patterns in which sociologists are qualified to work and in which considerable numbers have shown some interest.

#### AREAS OF STUDY BY EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS

The study by Lee<sup>5</sup> in 1927 indicated that educational sociology courses had little similarity to one another in content. They gave the appearance of being merely a hodgepodge of subjects which instructors in sociology and education might put together for the training of teachers and others interested in education. The study of the aims of educational sociology by Moore<sup>6</sup> in 1924 indicated a similar variety of content. An examination of the literature in educational sociology including books with this or a related title, as well as the periodical literature in which the field is defined or delineated, leads to a similar conclusion. It may be worth while to examine very briefly several conceptions or definitions of the area of educational sociology at this point. They are not mutually exclusive categories, but indicate the widely different although somewhat related ideas of the field.

*Analysis of education as the means of social progress.* Several of the early sociologists thought of educational sociology as a field which would provide the basis for social progress and the solution of social evils. This probably stems from the early work of Lester F. Ward<sup>7</sup> in which he looked upon education as an ameliorative process whose main function is the improvement of society. Ward's emphasis on education as the means to progress in society is also seen in

the works of Good,<sup>8</sup> Ellwood,<sup>9</sup> and Kinneman.<sup>10</sup> These men expressed the idea that the school might succeed in teaching the people to exercise social control in such an intelligent fashion that culture would progress to the highest level possible. Others have set similar tasks for educational sociology, but these indicate the nature of this conception of the field.

*Educational sociology as providing the aims for education.* A second conception of educational sociology can be recognized in the contributions of those who were concerned with social determination of the aims or objectives of education. Finney,<sup>11</sup> Snedden,<sup>12</sup> Peters,<sup>13</sup> Clements,<sup>14</sup> and Kinneman,<sup>15</sup> all in various degrees thought of educational sociology as the objective analysis of the aims or purposes of education. In this sense they were attempting to arrive at a social philosophy of education which would be based on an analysis of society and the needs of people in society.

*Application of sociology to education.* Quite a number of students in the field have defined educational sociology as the application of sociology to educational problems. Most of the men mentioned in the previous paragraph discussed the application of sociology to curriculum development. Many of the persons who gave this catch-all definition of educational sociology also discussed specific problems. Among these are Smith,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Alvin Good, "Sociology and Education," *Harpers*, Vol. XXVI, 1926, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> C. A. Ellwood, "What is Educational Sociology?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, (Sept. 1927), p. 25-30.

<sup>7</sup> John A. Kinneman, *Society and Education*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> Ross L. Finney, "Divergent Views of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, (Oct. 1927), p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> David Snedden, *Sociology for Teachers*, New York: Century, 1924, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> C. C. Peters, *Foundation of Sociology*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935.

<sup>11</sup> S. C. Clement, "Educational Sociology in Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, 1927, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Kinneman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>13</sup> W. R. Smith, *Principles of Educational Sociology*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1928, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> H. Lee, *Status of Educational Sociology*, Monograph, New York University Press Bookstore, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> C. B. Moore, "Aims of Educational Sociology," *Education*, Vol. 45, 190-70.

<sup>7</sup> L. F. Ward, "Education as the Proximate Means of Progress," in his *Dynamic Sociology*, 1883.

Zorbaugh,<sup>17</sup> and Kulp.<sup>18</sup> More recently Brown encompassed the whole area of applications of sociology to education when he said that "The educational sociologist utilizes all that has been learned in both fields but joins them in a new science by applying sociological principles to the whole process of education."<sup>19</sup> In addition to his emphasis on the idea of a sociological curriculum Zeleny<sup>20</sup> in his paper read before the educational sociology section of the American Sociological Society, a year ago, took the position that "Educational sociology cannot be a pure science; it must be applied to the control of education." Viewed in this light, educational sociology is strictly technology and not a science at all.

We turn now to consideration of somewhat different concepts of the educational sociology program. Viewed in one light, the following two approaches to educational sociology are almost as comprehensive as sociology in general.

*The educational process as the socializing process.* Prior to the more recent emphasis by sociologists and social psychologists on the development of personality, some educational sociologists viewed the entire process of socializing a child as the area of educational sociology. That part of the field of social experience in which the individual is affected by the social group was considered the field of cultivation for educational sociologists. Important in this group were Ellwood,<sup>21</sup> Smith,<sup>22</sup> and more recently, Brown.<sup>23</sup> Brown presents this view in quoting from Dodson: "Educational sociology is inter-

ested in the impact of the total cultural milieu in which and through which experience is acquired and organized. It is interested in the school, but recognizes it as a small part of the total. Educational sociology is particularly interested in finding out how to manipulate the educational process to achieve better personality development."

*Sociology training for educational workers and training for educational research.* The point of view expressed by Brown and Dodson is similar to that expressed by Payne<sup>24</sup> when he says, "by educational sociology we mean the science which describes and explains. . . the social relationships in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experience." He also indicates "that educational sociology is interested in social behavior and the principles of its control." At various points he looks upon educational sociology as a comprehensive study of all aspects of education from a technological or applied science point of view. When this is examined in the light of New York University's very extensive sociology offerings in the School of Education we recognize that, for Payne, educational sociology included anything in the field of sociology which could be related to the learning or socializing process and anything in education that was subject to sociological analysis. This all-inclusive view plus the opportunity to develop a separate department at N. Y. U. led to a varied and multiple conception of the field of educational sociology. Primary emphasis throughout, however, if I understand it correctly, is on the need to provide teachers, research workers, and others interested in education with an adequate and effective training in sociology and its contributions to the understanding of the educational process.

In this sense the work being done at Ohio State University is similar to that at N.Y.U. Although a part of the sociology department, a staff of sociologists provide several courses in sociology for teacher trainees at this institution. It is understood that prospective

<sup>17</sup> Harvey Zorbaugh, "Research in Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, 1927, pp. 18-19.

<sup>18</sup> Kulp, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>19</sup> Francis Brown, *Educational Sociology*, New York: Prentice Hall, 1947, p. 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> Leslie Zeleny, "The Sociological Curriculum," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 13, especially p. 45, and "New Directions in Educational Sociology and the Teaching of Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 13, (June 1948), pp. 336-341.

<sup>21</sup> C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30.

<sup>22</sup> C. R. Smith, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Francis Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35-36.

<sup>24</sup> E. G. Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology*, New York University Press, 1928, p. 20.



teachers take educational sociology along with the general introductory course as the requirement in sociology. The emphasis at this institution is upon the understanding of the community and the total social scene in which the child is socialized. The nature of this work is indicated by Cook<sup>25</sup> and Greenhoe.<sup>26</sup> In both of the institutions mentioned, and perhaps in many others, educational sociology rather than other sociology courses are offered to teacher trainees. In many other institutions the teacher trainees receive similar contact with sociology but do so through the same courses offered to other students. Many of the books which were written as educational sociology texts reflect the desire to provide a survey of sociology as a general background for teachers.

The outline of trends in educational sociology made by Zeleny<sup>27</sup> in 1948 suggests a new departure in this field of training for teachers. He emphasized the contribution that sociologists, trained in social drama and role-taking procedures, could make to the techniques of teaching. He also emphasized the contribution which sociologists could make in socializing other techniques of classroom instruction.

*Role of education in society.* A more recent development in the field of educational sociology and quite different from the earlier orientations is the analysis of the role of education in the community and society generally. In his book, *Community Background of Education*, Cook has placed some emphasis upon the function of educational institutions in the community and has analyzed the social relationship between the school and other aspects of the community. Many of the rural sociologists have delineated rural communities and neighborhoods in relation to high-school and elementary-school attendance areas. Somewhat different but classifi-

able in the same general category is the analysis of the function of the school in the status structure of society with particular reference to the local community structure. The work of Warner<sup>28</sup> and his associates is significant in this area. The emphasis in all of them is on the analysis of the community and society with particular reference to the function of education. For this reason it is hardly appropriate to call this by the same name as the previous categories of educational sociology which placed much more emphasis on the idea of application.

*Patterns of social interaction within the school and between the school and the community.* Closely related to the above and similarly recent has been an attempt to analyze the patterns of social interaction and social roles within the school society and the relation of personalities within the school to outside groups. The work of Waller<sup>29</sup> was the first major attempt to analyze the role of teachers both in relation to their students and to the communities in which they teach. Greenhoe's<sup>30</sup> study of community contacts and participation of a nation-wide sample of school teachers is also significant. In this same general area are the analyses of the roles of teachers on the higher education level by Znaniecki<sup>31</sup> and Wilson.<sup>32</sup> Warren<sup>33</sup> has also made a study of teachers in his analysis of social roles. The studies of clique structure, leadership, and rejections have also been contributions to a sociology of the social groups within the school. Major con-

<sup>25</sup> W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944.

<sup>26</sup> Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932.

<sup>27</sup> Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers*, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1941.

<sup>28</sup> Florian Znaniecki, *Social Roles of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

<sup>29</sup> Logan Wilson, *Academic Man*, London: Oxford University Press, 1942.

<sup>30</sup> Roland Warren, Unpublished MS. which has been made available to the writer.

<sup>25</sup> L. A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Florence Greenhoe, "Community Sociology and Teacher Training," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 13, (April 1940), pp. 463-470.

<sup>27</sup> Zeleny, *op. cit.*, 1948.

tributions in this field have been made by Cook<sup>34</sup> and Smucker.<sup>35</sup> Here again it is hardly accurate to list this approach as educational sociology if that rubric is to contain the variety of other work that has been described above.

*Summary of various approaches to educational sociology.* The range of differences among persons who call themselves educational sociologists has been apparent throughout the half-century of the concept's existence and was recognized by Lee in his 1926 study.<sup>36</sup> The practice of calling anything that anyone might want to include in a course for teachers' educational sociology may be a factor in the decline of emphasis upon that type of course. Competent sociologists could hardly continue to have respect for such a hodge-podge of content. This becomes particularly evident when the emphases on value judgments, educational technology, and other materials foreign to the scientific analysis of social interaction are considered.

This apparent decline in interest in educational sociology among sociologists is not, however, an indication that sociology is no longer considered an important part of the training for prospective teachers. Although no evidence is immediately available to illustrate trends, there is some indication that teacher training institutions are offering many more sociology courses, other than educational, than they previously did. The

study by Landis<sup>37</sup> which found one thousand and twenty-two sociology courses listed in the catalogs of one hundred and sixty-two teacher colleges would substantiate the assumption that teacher training institutions are offering a considerable number of courses. This seems to be much greater than the number offered twenty years ago. This may mean that directors of teacher training programs have come to feel that teachers can get better training in sociology from other courses than those specifically designated educational sociology. This may account in part for the decline in the number of courses of the latter type.

The more recent interest of sociologists in the analysis of the educational system as a pattern of social interaction and its relation to other social systems suggests a new and different role for sociology in relation to education. It is this to which we now turn our attention.

#### SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS IN EDUCATION

The foregoing survey of various approaches to educational sociology may lead some to the conclusion that there is no place for a sociological analysis of education. It is our purpose here to note that there is not only such a place, but that it is one of the more important tasks that the sociologist is equipped to do. Furthermore, the stage of scientific development has arrived wherein a major contribution can be made to the educational system in our society. It should, however, be made clear at this point that there is no intention to disagree with those who wish to deal in the philosophy of education or the development of the goals or objectives of education from sociological data. Neither is there any wish to discredit those who, like Zeleny,<sup>38</sup> wish to apply sociological information and principles to the

<sup>34</sup> L. A. Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, (April 1945), pp. 250-261.

<sup>35</sup> O. C. Smucker, "The Campus Clique As an Agency of Socialization," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 163-169; and "Prestige Status Stratification on a College Campus," *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 20-27.

<sup>36</sup> Harvey Lee, "The Status of Educational Sociology in . . . Schools . . . Colleges . . . and Universities," New York University Press Bookstore, Summary in Payne, *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, New York: Prentice Hall, 1939, pp. 2-8.

<sup>37</sup> Judson T. Landis, "The Sociology Curriculum and Teacher Training," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 12, (February 1947), pp. 113-116.

<sup>38</sup> Zeleny, *op. cit.*

construction of the school curriculum or to the improvement of teaching methods. It is submitted that these concepts of educational sociology either do not contribute to the scientific analysis of human relations—thus are not sociology—or that they are attempts to include all sociology under this rubric.

The fundamental and increasing importance of the educational process and the system of social relations associated with that process certainly makes it of such importance that the sociologist should turn his attention and abilities to the analysis of this aspect of the society. It is doubtful if those who wish to apply sociological principles and information to the school administration can make rapid progress until we understand the nature of the human relations within the school, and the social structure within which the schools operate in the community. Just as sociologists have turned their attention to the analysis of human relations in the family, industry, religion, politics, the community, or in any other system of social interaction, so it is appropriate for those trained in this field to determine the patterns of interaction in the educational system. Furthermore, this approach can meet the most rigorous requirements of scientific investigation. It can also make as much contribution to an understanding of the total society as the analysis of any other portion of society.

It should be pointed out that such a delineation of a field which we would designate the sociology of education is not new. Some years ago Angell<sup>39</sup> made a significant and valid definition of the field. He took the position that an educational sociologist should be simply a sociologist who specializes in his thoughts and research on the educational process. Furthermore, he maintained that in this light "educational sociology is then merely a branch of the pure science of sociology." He stated that he preferred to call this area of the discipline *Sociology of Edu-*

*cation*, because the approach was through the school as a source of data which could be analyzed rather than as something to be acted upon, which is implied in the traditional concept of educational sociology. Angell further pointed out that an applied science of educational sociology is impossible because the application of sociology alone to the educational process does not supply all that is necessary to administer and determine the policy of educational systems. The school administrator faced with the necessity of organizing and directing an educational system must draw upon the information provided by psychology, political science, economics, and many other disciplines. For this reason, as Angell pointed out, the problems of school administration involve a broad technology.

Somewhat later Reuter<sup>40</sup> made a similar delineation of the field when he pointed out that "the interests of the educational sociologist differs from that of the general sociologist only in the fact that he works with a specially selected set of materials. . . . He is interested to understand education's forms, functions and developments in diverse situations, to understand the behavior and ideologies of school men, to discover the effect of school on existing institutions and its influence on personality." Reuter further recognized the fact that his definition of educational sociology eliminated much that had gone by that name: "educational sociologists have for the most part been concerned with other than sociological material. . . . Even that labeled as sociological commonly deals with social, practical, and moral topics or with questions of educational objectives and curricular content rather than with sociological problems."

Unfortunately neither Angell nor Reuter followed up his delineation of the sociology of education with an extensive analysis in the field. In fact, only a limited number of contributions are found in the literature

<sup>39</sup> Robert Cooley Angell, "Science, Sociology, and Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, (March, 1928), pp. 406-413.

<sup>40</sup> E. B. Reuter, "The Problem of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. IX, (September 1935), pp. 15-22.

which can be included in the area outlined by these men. There is, however, a rapidly growing body of research data which makes possible the organization of a rather extensive and significant sociological analysis of the educational system in American society.

In summarizing the reflections on the earlier contributions to the so-called field of educational sociology and the more carefully defined concepts of what might preferably be called sociology of education, some criteria, both negative and positive, for delineating the latter field are suggested. First, it will *not* include all of sociology simply because sociology is good training for teachers. If the latter is true, then teachers should be trained in sociology. Having prospective teachers studying courses in sociology does not make that sociology a science of educational sociology. Second, sociology of education is *not* a technology of education. Certainly it is to be hoped that the educational administrator will know sociology and will use it in the administration of the school. It is also hoped that he will know more than sociology and that he will not be primarily a researcher in the social relations within the school.

Third, on the positive side, the sociology of education is the scientific analysis of the social processes and social patterns involved in the educational system. This assumes that education is a combination of social acts and that sociology deals with the analysis of human interaction. Such analysis of the human interaction in education may include both the formal education occurring in other places as well as the school and the multitude of informal communication processes which serve educational functions. It is also assumed that such an analysis would lead to development of scientific generalizations about human relations in the educational system. Finally, any adequate sociology of education must present hypotheses concerning such human relations which will provide the body of theory to be tested in research.

Although only limited segments of the area have been analyzed and few if any supportable generalizations are available,

there is a rapidly increasing number of contributions to a scientific analysis of the educational social system. There is no wish to withhold this information from the educator who wishes to improve the organization and administration of the educational system. In fact, it is hoped that the end result or goal of this area of sociological analysis will be just that. On the other hand, it is maintained that improvement in the school system can move forward much more rapidly if based upon a scientific analysis of the educational system when such is available. This is the task of the sociologist who is sufficiently interested to turn his abilities and attention to the social relations involved in the educational processes and patterns.

#### AN OUTLINE OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

The present state of research and analysis of the educational system makes it possible to indicate a tentative outline of a sociology of education. Because of personal interest and experience the outline will be limited to the areas of analysis that can now be recognized in the formal aspects of the educational system. These areas will provide the subject matter for a forthcoming book in the field of sociology of education.<sup>41</sup>

*The relation of the educational system to other aspects of society.* There is now available a considerable amount of evidence upon which to develop some theories about the relation of the educational system, particularly the schools, to other aspects of American society. This division of the sociology of education would include several subdivisions. Among them would be: (1) the relationship of the educational system to the processes of social and cultural change or the maintenance of the status quo, (2) the functioning of the formal educational system in the process of social reform in such areas of human relationships as those between racial, cultural, and other groups, (3) functions of the educational system in the process of

<sup>41</sup> The preparation of this manuscript, to be published by the American Book Company, is in process.



social control, (4) the relationship of education to the social class or status system, (5) the relation of the educational system to public opinion, and (6) the significance of education as a symbol of faith in democratic culture. There is no attempt to make an inclusive outline of all possible topics in the area, but to indicate those in which some analyses have been made. These will indicate something of the scope of this area without a bibliography of the contributions or a more detailed outline.

*Human relations within the school.* The second area of the sociology of education which is receiving increasing attention and to which many significant contributions have been made is the analysis of the social structure within the school. It has been pointed out that the cultural patterns within the school system are significantly different from other aspects of society, but much remains to be done to describe and analyze the nature of this school culture. A considerable number of studies have been made of the patterns of interaction among the persons in the school situation. This makes it possible to suggest several types of sociological analysis that would be included in this area. Among these are: (1) the nature of the school culture, particularly as it differs from the culture outside the school, (2) the nature of the patterns of stratification within the school, (3) the relationships between teachers and pupils, (4) the analysis of the clique and congeniality group structure in the school system, and (5) the nature of the leadership patterns and power structure in the school groups. There are no doubt other types of analysis in this area, but these will suggest the nature of the area and many of the contributions that have been made to it.

*The relation between the school and community.* A third area that has been the focus of attention for a number of sociologists is the analysis of the patterns of interaction between the school and other social groups in the immediate community. In this field one might include: (1) the delineation of the community as it affects school organiza-

tion,<sup>42</sup> (2) the analysis of the community power structure as it impinges on the school, and (3) analysis of the relation between the school system and other social systems in the community. All of these are significant aspects of the increasingly accepted concept of the community school which is intended to achieve an educational system that is better integrated with the life of the community which it serves. Sociological analyses can well provide the type of knowledge that is essential for the achievement of this end.

*The impact of the school on the behavior and personality of its participants.* The last major division of the sociology of education to be mentioned might be considered a social psychology of the educational system. In this we are interested in analyzing the nature of the behavior patterns or personality that result from the participation of teachers, pupils, and others in the total educational system. Psychologists and educationists have devoted considerable research and theorizing to the problem of the impact of the school on the pupils. Sociologists and social psychologists can also make contributions by noting the significance of the social roles the child plays in relation to teachers and other pupils in the school society. Just as human relations in the school have the effect of defining the roles and behavior of the children, so do they define the roles and behavior of teachers. Thus the development of teacher personality is a significant aspect of an over-all sociology of education.

Some of the analyses that can be mentioned in this area are: (1) the social roles of the teacher, (2) the nature of the teacher's personality, (3) the impact of the teacher's personality on the behavior of students, (4) the role of the school in the growth, adjustment, and/or maladjustment of children, and (5) the nature of behavior resulting from varying degrees of authoritarian or democratic school situations.

Others would no doubt subdivide the

<sup>42</sup> See J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," *Special Bulletin* 289, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, E. Lansing, Jan., 1938.

sociology of education into other segments, but, in terms of the criteria indicated earlier, it would seem that these are the more significant areas in which some analyses have been made and for which there is some research evidence to support hypotheses and tentative theories. There is, however, a tremendous amount of research to be done before an adequate sociology of education can be said to exist.

#### SUMMARY

A review of the contributions to the field traditionally known as educational sociology indicates a wide variety of subject matter and concepts of the field. It further indicates that there has been an apparent decline of interest in educational sociology as such. This has been associated, however, with an increasing emphasis upon sociologi-

cal analysis as the means of understanding schools and the educational processes. This suggests the necessity for a comprehensive analysis of the human relations in the educational system and between the educational system and other aspects of society. These, with the impact of such human relations on the behavior of individual human beings, are suggested as the areas for research and analysis to be pursued in the sociology of education. The growing body of research and increasing interest suggests the advisability of distinguishing it from the earlier applied educational sociology. Although the apparent demise of the educational sociology section of the American Sociological Society suggests that this paper may be an elegy for educational sociology, it is hoped that it may be a part of the initiation ceremony for a robust sociology of education.

### THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE IN SIX VILLAGES OF BENGAL\*

RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE

*The Social Survey, London*

THE SOCIAL grouping of any people will, of course, follow its own laws and possess a life of its own, but the social organisation must contribute to, or at least sustain, the basic necessities of the people—or be rejected. Consequently, changes in the basic character of the economy of a people should be reflected in the social institutions, affecting the pattern of the institutions or even their very existence. In this paper an attempt is made to show, very briefly, the effect of economic changes on a few major social institutions in six villages of Bengal (viz., Silimpur, Hatsahar, Naopara, Amani-para, Roair and Ghorsal in the district of Bogra). These villages were studied by the writer in 1942 and 1945.

In a recent article the writer has shown

that, although rural Bengal as a whole, and these villages in particular, seem to represent an egalitarian society with a subsistence economy, the society is, in fact, based on commodity production which functions through a well-developed economic structure.<sup>1</sup> It was seen that the economic structure increasingly divided the traditional peasantry into a small section of rich farmers and a large majority of poor and landless peasantry. The traditional relation of production is still maintained within the economic structure by the middle peasantry, but this group is rapidly decreasing in strength. The writer now intends to show the effect of this developing economic structure

<sup>1</sup> Ramkrishna Mukherjee, "Economic Structure of Rural Bengal: A Survey of Six Villages," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (December, 1948), pp. 660-672.

\* Manuscript received February 23, 1949.

on the social life of the people. It should, however, be mentioned at the beginning that, although a rural society is probably the simplest type of modern society, the rural society of Bengal, on account of its long history and contacts with various cultural patterns, has evolved many complex institutions. Specialised and intensive studies are, therefore, necessary for a complete understanding of the interaction between the economic structure and these social institutions. The present study deals with some broad aspects of this problem.

#### CASTE AND COMMUNITY

It is well known that the social structure of India is based on the caste and communal divisions of the people.<sup>2</sup> By communal division is meant the division of the society into Hindu and Muslim religious groups. The writer has shown elsewhere that the different castes and communal groups in these villages (viz., Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, General Muslims, and *Khulu* Muslims) can be classified, to some extent, according to the incomes of the people belonging to them.<sup>3</sup> Although this form of arranging the families in homogeneous groups was found to be less satisfactory than that obtained by the present occupational classification, it indicates that the ancient socio-economic hierarchy does in some degree reflect the division of the people into separate economic units.<sup>4</sup>

It is also interesting to note that all the families belonging to the upper Hindu Castes (consisting of Brahmins and Kayastha with their half-castes) belong to the upper rank of the economic structure; 83% of the families belonging to the Scheduled Castes are in the lower and the rest in the middle rank; and the two remaining higher castes (viz., Napit and Tanti), which are

socially above the Scheduled Castes but at a lower level than the upper Caste Hindus, have 10 out of the total of 14 families (or 71%) in the middle rank and the remaining families in the lower rank of the economic structure.<sup>5</sup>

Among the Muslims also it was found that, although Islam in principle does not tolerate any form of inequality among its converts, the occupational group of oil-pressers, who are known as *Khulu* and most of whom suffer from economic distress, is considered socially inferior to the General Muslims. The General Muslims and the *Khulu* Muslims function as two endogamous groups, although inter-dining is not taboo but very seldom takes place in practice. During his first survey in 1942 the writer found only two cases of intermarriage between the *Khulu* Muslims and the General Muslims in the genealogies for three generations collected from all the Muslim families living in these villages.

It is interesting to note that each case of such mixed (?) marriage was met with strong disapproval from the group of General Muslims, the *Khulu* Muslims remaining silent. In one case, a General Muslim man married a *Khulu* woman, and, as a result, the couple were forced to leave the man's village and settle down in the outskirts of the main town of the district. In the other case, however, the man was a *Khulu* while the woman was a General Muslim. The result was that the man's fellow-villagers welcomed the marriage, but the woman's kinsmen broke off all relations with the couple. It is significant that, as shown elsewhere, the General Muslims have a higher economic status than the *Khulu* Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

#### FAMILY

The system of "joint family" (consisting

<sup>2</sup> See, K. P. Chattopadhyay, "The History of Indian Social Organization," *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1936; B. N. Dutt, *Studies in Indian Social Polity*, Calcutta: Puravi Publishers, 1944.

<sup>3</sup> See reference 1, above.

<sup>4</sup> A similar condition was found by the writer in another district of Bengal, viz., Midnapur in the east. See Ramkrishna Mukherjee, "Destitution at Contai Thana, Midnapur," *Modern Review*, Calcutta, December, 1944.

<sup>5</sup> The Land Revenue Commission of 1941 has noted that most of the Scheduled Caste families in Bengal are employed as sharecroppers and agricultural labourers (that is, they belong to the lower rank of the economic structure), while the Caste Hindu families mostly own the land. (See the *Report of the Land Revenue Commission on Bengal*, Vol. I, Government of India publication.)

<sup>6</sup> See reference 1 above. Similar occupational and

of more than one simple family in the patrilineal descent) is the traditional form in Bengal as well as in other parts of India. In the villages under consideration the "joint family" was found to be more associated with the upper rank, and the newly formed "simple family" (consisting of parents and immature children) was more common in the lower rank. As noted earlier, the middle rank behaved as a group between the two.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, it was observed that during 1942-44 there were changes in the family types. In the upper rank there was a tendency towards the formation of "joint family" and in the lower rank towards further splitting into "simple families."<sup>8</sup> The effect of changes in

functional groups among the Muslims are not infrequent in Bengal and in other parts of India, such as the Nats, Badias, etc. In almost all cases they are regarded as socially inferior to the General Muslims, and are also in a lower position economically. (See the *Gazetteers of the Districts of Bengal*, Government of Bengal publications.)

<sup>7</sup> The table below gives the distribution of different types of families in the villages in 1942 as classified by the ranks of the economic structure of the society.

Family types (1)	Number of families			Percentage of total		
	Upper (2)	Middle (3)	Lower (4)	Upper (5)	Middle (6)	Lower (7)
Simple	14	53	88	56	64	71
Joint—one generation	4	10	9	16	12	7
Joint—two generations	4	12	10	16	14	8
Joint—three generations	1	—	1	4	—	1
Household	2	8	16	8	10	13
Total	25	83	124	100	100	100

"Household," as defined by W. H. R. Rivers in *Social Organization* (Kegan Paul & Co., London), consists of one simple family with one or a few more near-relatives, such as sister's son.

<sup>8</sup> The following table gives the number and proportion of families changing their family types during 1942-44. In the table the change called "fusion" (col. 3) means the formation of joint family from simple families or households, and the change "fission" (col. 4) means just the opposite.

Ranks in 1942 (1)	Number of families (2)	Change of family types during 1942-44			Percentage of col. (5) to col. (2) (6)
		Fusion (3)	Fission (4)	Total (5)	
Upper	25	7	2	9	36
Middle	83	6	8	14	17
Lower	124	7	20	27	22
Total	232	20	30	50	22

the economic structure was thus reflected in the changes of family types in the two ranks, which took opposite directions.

Significantly, it is in the middle ranks that the changes are least marked. The middle rank has tended to maintain the traditional inertia in the economic life of the people and to perpetuate the age-old production relations of the society. Now a similar tendency is also apparent in its social behaviour. On the other hand, the formation of "joint family" in the upper rank indicates that these families have the economic stability and prosperity to provide for a large family, while further disintegration of family types in the lower rank shows that these people, being primarily concerned with their mere survival, are more interested in the maintenance of their closest relations and so have split into large numbers of simple biological families.<sup>9</sup>

#### INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

The economic changes have their effect not only on the major social institutions, but also on the individual life cycles of these people. The life cycles of persons belonging to different castes and communities are necessarily different, and so they have been studied separately. But the relation between the economic structure and the changes in the individual life cycle may be observed by means of an indirect comparison. Since the social hierarchy arranged in a descending order as upper Caste Hindu, middle Caste Hindu and Scheduled Castes, and as General Muslims and *Khulu* Muslims, closely follows the economic gradation, the effect of economic changes for the worse may be expected to be most marked in the group of Scheduled Castes and among the *Khulu* Muslims. It should be less marked among the middle Caste Hindus and the General

<sup>9</sup> Similar preponderance of simple families in the distressed section of the population was found by the writer in another district of Bengal, viz., Noakhali in the east. See Ramkrishna Mukherjee, "Effect of the Food Crisis of 1943 on the Rural Population of Noakhali, Bengal," *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. X, 1944-45.



Muslims, and the least among the upper Caste Hindus. By examining the usual social customs and ceremonies of these people with special reference to their economic and financial aspects, and by noting their present-day variations, the above expectation was found to be fully justified.

It should, however, be noted here that economic distress being the general feature, changes in the social institutions and cultural traits and complexes have been more clearly brought out as a result of the gradually worsening economic condition in general. Details about the individual life cycles of different castes and communities will be found in the appendix.

#### MARRIAGE

It will be seen from the accounts of individual life cycles in the appendix that the effect of the economic structure on one of the most important social institutions, viz., marriage, is indeed significant. It was found that the traditional form of marriage, *saja biya*, which entails considerable expense, is more frequent in the upper Hindu castes than in the middle Hindu castes or in the Scheduled Castes. On the other hand, the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes are to a great extent adopting the new improvised form of marriage, *uthano biya*, to reduce the expenses to a minimum. As usual, the middle Caste Hindus behave as an intermediate group.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The following table gives the frequency of cases of *saja biya* and the other forms of marriage recorded in the genealogies of three generations collected from all families of these villages belonging to the upper Caste Hindus, middle Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes. The group of other forms of marriage is mainly represented by *uthano biya* with a few cases of marriage by service by the prospective bridegroom, marriage by exchange of brothers and sisters of the bride and the bridegroom, and widow marriage (which is not preferred by the Hindu society and so cannot be solemnised as a *saja biya*). All the other forms of marriage are either recent adoptions or, though in practice for some time, not preferred to *saja biya*, and so are adopted when in distress owing to growing economic deterioration. Therefore, in conformity with the economic gradation and the hypothesis regarding the economic basis of the society, it is expected that

It was also observed that the change in marriage forms is becoming more and more marked with the passage of time.<sup>11</sup> If it is borne in mind that the effect of the economic structure has been the increasing pauperisation of the large mass of the people, the full implications of the change in marriage forms over a period will be realised.<sup>12</sup>

Among the Muslims also it was observed that the *Khulu* Muslims have adopted the same improvised form of marriage to a great extent, while it is almost completely absent among the General Muslims. The latter group of people look at *uthano biya* with

there will be an increasing number of marriages of forms other than the *saja biya* in the descending order of the social hierarchy. The table below corroborates what was expected. (For details regarding the forms of marriage see the Appendix.)

Social hierarchy (1)	Number of marriages		Percentage of total			
	<i>Saja biya</i>	Other forms	Total	<i>Saja biya</i>	Other forms	Total
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Upper Caste Hindus	8	9	17	47	53	100
Middle Caste Hindus	13	36	49	27	73	100
Scheduled Castes	31	114	145	21	79	100
Total	52	159	211	25	75	100

<sup>11</sup> The frequency of the traditional and the other forms of marriage by generations also shows similar features as noted above, indicating growing over-all distress. This is shown in the table below from which it will be seen that in the third old generation about half of the total cases of marriage were of the traditional form, but in the present and in the second old generations it is of rather unusual occurrence.

Generations (by age-groups) (1)	Number of marriages		Percentage of total			
	<i>Saja biya</i>	Other forms	Total	<i>Saja biya</i>	Other forms	Total
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
I (0-25 yrs)	2	11	13	15	85	100
II (25-50 yrs)	28	128	156	18	82	100
III (50-75 yrs)	22	20	42	52	48	100
Total	52	159	211	25	75	100

<sup>12</sup> It will be seen from the individual life cycles in the appendix that a high brideprice is an important factor influencing the form of marriage. It may be noted here that brideprice is a serious economic problem in marriage which all Hindu castes (except the upper Caste Hindus among whom receiving a dowry is the custom) are now facing in Bengal. For an account of the social effect of brideprice in rural Bengal, see K. P. Chattopadhyay, "Effect of brideprice . . . among Hindus of Bengal," *Modern Review*, Calcutta, October 1941.

great contempt, but because of its economic advantages the *Khulu* Muslims have taken to it in large numbers. Since they are considered socially inferior to the General Muslims, they do not feel ashamed of adopting this method of reducing expenses. It may be worth reminding that most of the *Khulu* Muslim families are economically in a poorer state.

On the other hand, some General Muslims belonging to the upper rank are claiming dowries from the brides' families for their sons' marriages, whereas paying the bride-price is the general rule in the community.<sup>13</sup> A saying is now prevalent among the Muslims: "Without money you can secure a mate for your daughter, but if you want a bridegroom you must spend money." This illustrates the effect of the economic structure on the social institution of marriage. It is interesting to note that the acculturation of this feature (viz., claiming dowry instead of paying brideprice) by the richer section of the Muslim community is borrowed from the upper Caste Hindus whose position in the top economic stratum of the society has already been ascertained.

The economic structure of the society is thus seen to influence the people in opposite directions with regard to one of the most important social institutions, viz., marriage.

#### THE CHANGING SOCIETY

It is clear from the accounts of individual life cycles in the appendix that the general effects of the changes in the economic structure on the social life of the people is that, to meet the growing economic distress, the majority of the people are reducing or totally giving up the grandeur of the socio-religious ceremonies. Also, they are improvising bare skeletal forms just to drag on the major social institutions. These forms are thus devoid of any elements which might infuse spirit and joy into the ceremonies.

It would, however, be wrong to think that abandonment of the ceremonial feasts and

other similar features of the ceremonies in order to reduce expenses has led to a relief from unnecessary social obligations. In the absence of a new outlook, the ceremonies have lost their vital character.

Moreover, this is leading to a loss of social solidarity in the long run, because the people are getting very few opportunities to congregate and feel conscious of their oneness. Half-castes are being formed as a result of the union between the upper Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes, but they do not enjoy equal status with their fathers' caste. For instance, the half-castes do not observe the *upanayan* ceremony or perform the rite of *kusandika* in marriage like their Brahmin fathers. They are barely tolerated in the society, as the upper Caste Hindus in the top rank control the social opinion of other people.

Thus with the disintegration of the traditional economic life of the people the old values of social life are being destroyed and the traditional institutions are becoming de-vitalised, whilst nothing is developing to take their place.

It is now evident that the village society is undergoing a rapid change. A changing society should be regarded as the resultant effect of (i) traditional inertia, (ii) an urge to adapt itself to the change in the basic economic structure, and (iii) the tendency to acquire cultural traits from the surrounding groups, especially from those which are of a better socio-economic status. It will be seen from the individual life cycles that the traditional forms are surviving as best they can, but there are perceptible and important variations. Again, some social features are superseded by acculturation, but the newly adopted features only strengthen social reaction, since they are derived from social systems which are also outmoded and so consequently do not fit in with the current standards of social and economic progress.

The introduction of the dowry system among the wealthier Muslims from the upper Caste Hindus has already been mentioned. It was also found that, as noted in the appendix, under the influence of the upper

<sup>13</sup> This feature was also observed in other villages of the district of Bogra, and in several other districts of Bengal.

Caste Hindus, the majority of the Scheduled Caste members, the Rajbanshis, are developing a social prejudice against widow marriage, to which they had no objection before.

Evidently, the changes in the economic structure under colonial conditions<sup>14</sup> are not leading the society to greater social freedom, more security in life or bigger scope for individual development. On the contrary, they are merely causing the disintegration of the traditional mode of life without putting anything in its place.

It has been mentioned that the caste system and the communal division of the society could be and are still being maintained to some extent despite the economic changes. Thus the traditional features which are now universally regarded as retarding social progress and as limiting the scope of individual development are not affected by the change.

Moreover, it has been seen that the change towards the formation of a "joint family" in the upper rank seems to indicate that the traditional groupings are preserved, and people revert back to them, in the absence of any new conception of life. The system of "joint family" has its own usefulness in a subsistence economy, but it does not assist individual development under commodity production, which is the basis of the economy to-day. Nevertheless, it is maintained and encouraged by the parasitic and decadent landowning class. On the other hand, it is mainly the economic deterioration which causes a reaction against this outmoded form. But such a reaction, arising out of the desperate need of the people in the lower rank to survive, only leads to the destruction of the old form. It does not give rise to any cultural renaissance of the people; it only shows the result of their poverty and distress, this decisive phase of an insecure life.

The retarding effect of the changes in the economic structure on the social development of the people is finally revealed by

studying the extent of literacy among these people. Development of education is perhaps the simplest criterion for gauging social progress; for education broadens the outlook of the individual and impresses on him the idea of freedom and progress. It was found in 1942 that in these villages 19% of the total population above the age of ten were literate. The corresponding proportions in the upper rank, 56%; in the middle rank, 13%; and in the lower rank only 9%.<sup>15</sup> Thus what little education there is,<sup>16</sup> is also confined mainly to the upper rank and, because of their decadent and parasitic existence, they do not make the fullest use of even this small amount of schooling. Consequently, whilst the society changes, social reaction still maintains its hold. This shows the lasting effect of a disintegrated economy on the social life of a people under colonial rule.

<sup>14</sup> The following table gives the number and proportion of literates to the total population in these villages over ten years of age in each rank of family occupations in 1942, and the distribution of the literates according to their educational status. Literates have been compared against the population of above ten, as it is extremely unusual to find any literate below this age in this locality.

Standard of literacy	Number of persons under ranks of 1942			
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Read Bengali	15	17	15	47
Read and write Bengali	11	7	10	28
Read English	8	1	5	14
Read and write English	8	2	2	12
Minor standard	19	5	4	28
Matriculation standard	10	—	1	11
College education (University)	6	—	—	6
Total literate	77	32	37	146
Population above age ten	137	245	389	771
Percentage of literates to the population above ten	56	13	9	19

The standard of literacy as able to "read" and "write" Bengali means being able to read a postcard and to write a few lines. Regarding English, it means being able to "read" a few lines, and to sign the name in English for being able to "write." The other standards of literacy are according to the recognised standard of Calcutta University.

<sup>15</sup> It is worthy of note that a similar condition has been noted for the whole province. Education in Bengal, as in the rest of British India, has been exceedingly backward. Even before the famine of 1943, during 1940-41 barely 3.19 millions of children

<sup>14</sup> See reference 1, above.

## APPENDIX

## INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE OF DIFFERENT CASTES AND COMMUNITIES

*Method of study.* The investigation was carried out by questions asked with the help of genealogies. Actual observation of the customs and ceremonies of the people was possible only in a few cases. The writer selected informants from each caste and community who were considered as thoroughly reliable and were fully aware of the purpose of the survey. Details were collected with special reference to their own life and that of the family members of these informants. The narration was then checked by collecting information from other persons of the respective castes and communities with the help of their genealogies. For the limited space available for this article, only a brief summary of the individual life cycles, particularly bearing upon their economic aspect, has been given below, and the statements made have not been illustrated by citing actual cases from the genealogies of the families.

## BRAHMIN

## UPPER CASTE HINDU

Traditional occupation—religious activities (?)

*Birth.* The attending nurse belonging to the Hari caste (Scheduled Caste) should be given a *saree* for severing the umbilical chord of the child, but now-a-days she is usually paid in cash because the amount paid is half the cost of an ordinary *saree*.

*Initiation ceremony.* This is known as *anna-prasan* or the first feeding of rice. It takes place at the age of six months. The ceremony should be celebrated with a feast of the relatives and friends, but these days to minimise expense the grandeur of the ceremony is substantially reduced, and very often the feast is completely abandoned. In the latter case, only a little *prasad* of the Lord Gourango (foodstuff with the

attended the rural schools which usually teach up to the primary standard, with an occasional irregular class. This is barely one-fourth of the total population of age 7-17 in rural Bengal, these ages being the approximate limits in primary and secondary schools in rural areas. Since then there has been a sharp drop in the number of students attending schools due to the famine and its aftermath in 1943-44. For details, see K. P. Chattopadhyay and Ramkrishna Mukherjee, "The Famine and Disintegration of Education in Rural Bengal," *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. XI, 1945-46.

blessing of god) is given to the child, and then it is not necessary to perform any ceremony or feed the people. This is almost always the case with all children except the first born for whom the ceremony is usually performed these days.

*Upanayan.* This is the ceremony by which the Brahmin boy at the age of nine or in any odd year thereafter enters into the socio-religious life of a Brahmin, who are thus called "twice born." The expenses on this ceremony are mainly for the religious rites, the gold or silver earrings and the mendicant's dress for the boy (consisting of a saffron-colored *dhota*, a *chaddar*, i.e., wrapper, and a pair of wooden shoes, *kharram*), the fee for the priest for conducting the ceremony and that for the barber for shaving the head of the boy and piercing his ear lobes. There is also the expense on the feast of relatives and friends associated with the ceremony. It was reported from various sources that similar to the initiation ceremony, in this function also the expenses vary according to the economic status of the family, and sometimes the ceremonial feast is completely abandoned.

*Marriage.* The usual form of marriage is for the bride's party to seek out the bridegroom, carry on negotiations regarding the dowry and details of the ceremony, and then fix the day of marriage. On the day of marriage the bridegroom with his party of friends and relatives goes to the bride's residence. Since the bridegroom's party is organised with great pomp and show, this form of marriage goes by the name of *saja biya*, literally meaning marriage with grandeur. After the marriage has been solemnised, the bridegroom's party participate in a feast given by the bride's family to them and to the friends and relatives of the bride's family. Next day the bridegroom returns to his home with the bride and then within a few days the bridegroom's party has to arrange a feast in which the nearest relatives and friends of the bride's family are invited to dine with those of the bridegroom's family. The expenses on this occasion are borne by the bridegroom's family, and thus the marriage is socially sanctioned by both the parties.

A perceptible variation in this cultural form was that the bride may come over to the bridegroom's place for marriage. The newly adopted form of marriage is known as *uthano biya*, which literally means, "marriage by lifting" the bride from the residence. The bride is escorted by



her guardians and some nearest relatives and friends, and after the marriage in the bridegroom's residence both parties are treated to a ceremonial feast for the social recognition of the marriage. In this form of marriage the dowry is comparatively small, since the bridegroom's family will not have to entail any expenditure to bring the party of relatives and friends to the bride's residence for marriage. Also, the total expense on marriage is reduced for the bride's family from other considerations as well, since they will not have to stand for the feast on the day of marriage.

This improvised form of marriage was found to be more frequent in the present and the next recent generations than in old times, and it is interesting to note that so far all cases of *uthano biya* were recorded only for the girls of the villagers concerned for whom the families would have to pay dowries. For the boys the traditional form of marriage is still followed, since it is all to the advantage of the family concerned. Obviously marriages have taken place between these villages and others which were not covered by the survey; otherwise, *uthano biya* could not be arranged exclusively for the girls in the family. Incidentally, it shows that these families which belong to the upper rank of the economic structure can still afford to maintain the old form to a great extent, otherwise they could not arrange a traditional form of marriage for the boys.

**Death.** The death pollution lasts for eleven days after which the funeral ceremony, known as *sradh* (offering to the deceased with respect), is performed by the deceased's family. The *sradh* ceremony is conducted by the Brahmin preceptor of the family who is provided with the gifts of the *sradh* and his usual fee for the occasion. The *sradh* is performed under any of the following forms: *tilapatra* (the ceremony of three gifts), *dwadwasha* (the ceremony of twelve gifts), *sworash* (the ceremony of sixteen gifts) and *dan sagar* (the ceremony of gifts without number, in which anybody may ask for anything and it has to be given.) Along with the religious rites and worship performed with this ceremony, the friends and relatives of the deceased have to be fed by the deceased's family. The grandeur of the feast naturally depends on the type of the *sradh* performed. The form generally practised was found to be dependent on the economic status of the family, but in no case was it of the type of *tilapatra*, showing the general economic prosperity of

these people all of whom belong to the upper rank.

#### HALF-CASTE

Origin—Brahmin and Kayastha, or Brahmin and Kaibartta (Scheduled Caste)

Since the half-castes in these villages are of a recent origin, they do not have any traditional form of individual life cycle. They follow the forms of life of a Brahmin, but cannot undergo the ceremony of *upanayan* which is the special rite for the Brahmins. The ceremony of *annaprasan* also in their case consists merely of the *prasad* of the Lord Gourango. Their marriage is also solemnised in a way similar to that for the Brahmins, but the most important Brahminical rite of *kusandika* is not performed. Moreover, the two cases of marriage which occurred so far among them were of the *uthano biya* type, and brideprice was paid in the marriage instead of receiving a dowry as is the rule with the Brahmins.

#### NAPIT AND TANTI

##### MIDDLE CASTE HINDUS

Traditional occupations—barber's job (Napit) and weaving (Tanti)

*Birth and annaprasan.* Similar to those noted for the Brahmins.

*Karna-bedh.* Any time after the fifth year of age and before marriage the ear lobes of the boy have to be ceremonially pierced with gold or silver rings. As mentioned in the case of the *upanayan* ceremony of the Brahmins, the main item of expenditure involved in this function is the feeding of relatives and friends. To avoid the feast, this ceremony is now generally performed with some other important ceremony in the family, such as marriage.

*Marriage.* The traditional form of marriage is for the bridegroom to go to the bride's place to marry. It is done in a way similar to that described for the Brahmins, but the initiative is taken first by the bridegroom's instead of by the bride's family. The former has also to pay a brideprice instead of receiving a dowry. The more frequent form of marriage is, however, what has been previously described as *uthano biya*; its popularity being for the simple reason that it is economical. Since this involves much less expense, the brideprice to be paid in this type of marriage was found to be even less than half of that demanded in the case of a traditional form of marriage, *saja biya*. It was also found that even for the newly adopted form of marriage the expenses are much less in the

present than in the past generations because of much less grandeur in the ceremony. This was particularly marked in the families belonging to the lower rank of the economic structure.

Marriage by service in the bride's family was also found within these castes, but this is considered as a very low form of marriage, although they do not call it marriage by service, but as the custom of *gharjamai*, that is, the bridegroom living in father-in-law's place. Only two such cases among the Napits and one among the Tantis were reported in the genealogies of three generations, and in all the three cases the bridegrooms were found to have given up their traditional occupations under the middle rank of the economic structure and to depend on agricultural labour which is an occupational group under the lower rank. Obviously, in this form of marriage there is no question of brideprice or of a big feast, so that the total expenditure on the occasion is almost negligible.

Although widow marriage was not found to have taken place among the members of these castes in these villages, it was reported to be permissible because the number of widows was on the increase while many men could not marry owing to high brideprice. Such cases had occurred in the neighboring villages, and it is significant to note that brideprice is not required in a widow marriage.

**Death.** The prescribed forms of the *sradh* ceremony are those noted for the Brahmins, but the commonest forms were found to be *tilapatra* and *dwadwasha* for the obvious reason that they entail the least expenditure.

#### BHUINMALI

##### SCHEDULED CASTE

Traditional occupation—menial services

**Birth, annaprasen, karna-bedh and sradh.** Similar to those noted for Napits and Tantis.

**Marriage.** The traditional form and the variations are the same as noted for the Napits and Tantis, with the two following exceptions: (a) widow marriage has been unequivocally accepted by the caste for a long time and so a brideprice (although very small in amount) is demanded on such occasions; and (b) marriage by exchange of brothers and sisters of the brides and bridegrooms respectively is also another form of marriage. Obviously, in the marriage by exchange there is no question of brideprice, but it is not very frequent as the exact coincidence is not easy to obtain. Marriage by service was found in only one case in which the economic status of the bridegroom was very low.

#### CHAMAR

##### SCHEDULED CASTE

Traditional occupation—trading in hides, menial services

**Birth, annaprasen and karna-bedh.** The customs are similar to those noted for the other Hindu castes, but the attending nurse at birth and the person who pierces the ear lobes of the boy in the ceremony of *karna-bedh* is a member of the family. This caste is regarded as of too lowly origin to receive the service of even a Hari woman at birth and a Napit for *karnabedh*.

**Marriage and death.** The customs are similar to those reported for the other Hindu castes, but the *sradh* ceremony is not performed by a Brahmin but by a barber. It is interesting to note that the local Bengali barbers do not perform this ceremony for fear of being out-caste. A group of barbers from the United Provinces who have settled in this locality do this job for them. The Chamar families have also immigrated from the United Provinces three generations ago.

#### RAJBANSHI

##### DETribALISED SCHEDULED CASTE

Traditional occupation—agriculture (?)

**Birth, annaprasen, and karna-bedh.** Similar to that noted for other Hindu castes.

**Religious initiation ceremony.** This consists of receiving the guiding precept for life from the family preceptor. Although this is not compulsory, every Rajbanshi usually goes through the ceremony either before or after marriage. The expenses on this occasion consist of an offering of a dress to the preceptor and a feast to the relatives and friends. Now-a-days the feast is often replaced by a *hari lut*, that is, an offering of *batasha* (cakes of unrefined sugar) to the Lord Hari, which is distributed among those who are present. In the case of extreme poverty of the disciple, the preceptor may even excuse the cloth due to him and remain content with a very small fee.

**Marriage.** All the forms of marriage noted for the Bhuinmali (viz., the traditional form—*saja biya*, *uthano biya*, marriage by exchange and service, and widow marriage) are prevalent among these people, but the *uthano biya* is the most common. In these days this form of marriage does not require any brideprice at all, but in former times a small amount had to be paid because after the marriage at the bridegroom's residence the couple with the nearest relatives and friends of the bridegroom would

go to the bride's place and have a feast there for the social recognition of the marriage by both the parties. Now-a-days for this social recognition, after the marriage has been solemnised, the two fathers-in-law treat each other to betel leaf, *pan*, before the assembly at the bridegroom's place.

It is interesting to note that among these people the widow marriage is socially looked down upon these days, although there seems to have been no objection to this in former times. Out of the total 116 cases of marriage recorded for three generations in 1942, in only 6 cases was it a widow marriage. None of these six cases again is from the present generation; three are from the second and the other three from the third old generations. Obviously, this attitude has been derived by acculturation from the Brahmins, their Hindu preceptors, who do not support widow marriage. A remarried widow is not allowed to wear the *sankha* (wristlet made of shell) and *sindur* (vermilion at the parting of the hair), the two principal symbols of the married status of a Hindu woman. Furthermore, the people will not accept food from the hands of a remarried girl in any socio-religious ceremony or on any other sacred occasion. Also, a man cannot marry a widow as his first marriage. In that case, he has first to undergo a mock marriage with a wooden pole, and only after that can he marry. Needless to say, widow marriage does not require any brideprice.

Marriage by exchange was found in two cases, and marriage by service in three out of three generations' genealogies. In all such cases the bridegrooms were in extreme economic distress.

*Death.* The prescribed forms of *sradh* ceremony are the same as noted for other Hindu castes, of which the *tilapatra* is the most frequent and next is the *dwadwasha* form. Significant changes in the death ceremony have occurred also in another aspect. Now-a-days the gifts for the *sradh* are not presented as such in many cases, and an amount is paid to the priest in lieu of these gifts. But the amount offered is always less than the actual price of the goods to be given, and thus the expenses on a *sradh* ceremony are reduced by half or even more.

### MUHAMMEDANS

#### GENERAL AND *Khulu* MUSLIMS

*Birth, and initiation ceremony.* The customs are similar to those noted for the Hindu castes, and the variations are also of the same type.

*Circumcision.* Circumcision of the male child takes place between the ages of five and ten, usually at the age of six or seven. It is performed by a socially inferior group of Muhammedans, known as *Badias*, who live in different villages in the locality. The General Muslims will not accept any food for them nor will they marry into their families. The charge for the operation varies with the economic position of the boy's family. There is no ceremonial feast attached to this rite.

*Marriage.* The usual form of marriage is for the bridegroom's family to seek out the bride, and if the contract regarding the brideprice and other details of the marriage is settled, the day of marriage is fixed. On the day of marriage the bridegroom with his party goes to the bride's place for marriage, and the marriage is solemnised after the draft contract, *mohar nama*, is formally accepted. It is recorded in the *mohar nama* that in return for the present of a certain amount in ornaments and money by the bridegroom to the bride the two persons are declared married. After the marriage the bridegroom's party together with the friends and relatives of the bride's family are treated to a feast by the bride's family. Later, after returning to the bridegroom's residence with the bride, the bridegroom's family may treat their relatives and friends and those of the bride to a feast any day.

These days all the three features in the traditional form of marriage, viz., (i) the bride being sought by the bridegroom's family, (ii) bridegroom going to the bride's place for marriage, and (iii) the custom of paying the brideprice and not a dowry to the bridegroom, are subject to change. It was reported that in the past the bride's family would be approached by more than one party for marriage, but at present if the bridegroom's family is wealthy, the bride's family usually takes the initiative.

The change in the second feature was observed by the introduction of the form of *uthano biya* among the Muhammedans. This is, however, rare among the General Muslims and has occurred in only four cases in three generations up to 1942; but it is not so uncommon among the *Khulu* Muslims. It was found to have taken place at the rate of one in ten cases of marriages among them in three generations. It is worthy of note that, as stated with regard to the Hindu castes, among the Muhammedans also the brideprice in a *uthano biya* is very small or nothing.

Widow marriage is frequent and is one of the traditional forms. Marriage by exchange was not found at all, but marriage by service, which goes by the name of *gharjamai* as among the Hindus, was found in some, though not many, cases. As noted earlier, this form of marriage does not require any brideprice, and was found to have taken place only in case of extreme economic distress.

Regarding the third feature it should be noted that although General Muslims usually go through the traditional form of marriage, viz., *saja biya*, they seldom actually pay the amount of brideprice recorded in the *mohar nama*. Very often, by mutual agreement between the two parties, a much smaller amount (even less than half the amount stated in the contract) is paid. Moreover, a significant change in the marriage custom was found—the recent introduction of dowry system (though only in a few cases) in the present generations which was altogether absent

before. It is interesting to note that such cases were recorded only in the families belonging to the upper rank of the economic structure with the profession of money-lending or living on land as *jotdar*.

*Death.* After burial the attending party should be treated to a light refreshment by the deceased's family. About twenty days after death a ceremonial feast should be organised by the deceased's family for the relatives and friends who will assemble together to pray for the soul of the deceased before partaking of food. The form of light refreshment after burial depends on the economic status of the family, and the ceremonial feast is often abandoned these days, particularly by the *Khulu* Muslims. This is, however, reported for those who had died in earlier generations, or from the better-off families in all generations, who are expected to perform this even now because of their financial stability and progress.



# CURRENT ITEMS



## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Carnegie Corporation.** John W. Gardner has been elected vice-president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. An executive associate of the Corporation since 1946, Mr. Gardner succeeds Mr. Charles Dollard in the vice-presidency which has been vacant since Mr. Dollard became president in June, 1948. Mr. Gardner was graduated from Stanford University in 1935 and received the Ph.D. degree in psychology at the University of California in 1938. He taught for several years each at Connecticut College and Mount Holyoke College, and from 1943 to 1946 served with the Office of Strategic Services.

**Group Farming Research Institute.** The Rural Settlement Institute, founded in 1941, announces its incorporation, under the laws of the State of New York, which took place in December 1948. The name of the Institute has been changed to Group Farming Research Institute. The activities of the Institute include field studies, contacts with interested groups, grants-in-aid, and publications.

The Institute is at present engaged in a field-study of the Hechalutz Training Farms in the U.S.A. These farms train Zionist Youth for life and work in Israel, and especially in the Kvutzot. In connection with this study it is planned to establish in the near future an "observation post" in Israel.

To intensify contacts with leaders in agricultural cooperation and cooperative farming abroad, the Director of the Institute, Dr. Henrik F. Infield, planned a tour which took him, in the spring of 1949, via England, Scandinavia, and other European countries, to Israel. He was invited to deliver lectures at several European Universities and Research Institutes.

Two grants-in-aid, of \$500.00 each, were offered by the Institute during 1948. The first of these went to Dr. Joseph W. Eaton of Wayne University for a "post-mortem" survey of the FSA cooperative farms; and the second, to Miss Anna E. Hartog, M.A. of the University of Chicago, for a study in Israel on the influence of size and ideology upon the Kvutzot.

The third volume in the Institute's Research Series on Cooperation has appeared under the title: Henrik F. Infield (ed): *Cooperative Group Living, An International Symposium on Cooperative Farming and the Sociology of Cooperation*. Henry Koosis & Co., New York, are the publishers.

**The International Union for the Scientific Study of Population** will hold its first official

Assembly since the war in Geneva, Switzerland, during the week of August 27-September 3, 1949. The agenda of the Assembly will include provision for informal discussions on research problems in demography, and for official action on the progress of the Union. Two special sessions of the Assembly will be devoted, at the request of UNESCO, to the consideration of the cultural assimilation of immigrants as regards demographic aspects of this question and possible lines of research.

The Union was first organized in 1928. It was reconstituted, after disruption of its activities by the war, at the time of the International Statistical Conferences in Washington, September 1947. Its present membership includes scholars from 31 countries. Membership in the Union is now on an individual basis, and candidates must be endorsed by five members. An Administrative Office of the Union was established for a two-year period in Washington in November 1948, and Professor Frank Lorimer was appointed Administrative Director. Communications concerning Union affairs may be addressed to him at The American University, Washington 16, D.C.

**The Rand Corporation.** A new non-profit research organization, known as The RAND Corporation, has recently been established with headquarters at Santa Monica, California. The objective of the Corporation, as set forth in its charter, is to further and promote scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare and security of the United States of America. RAND's present research program is sponsored by the National Military Establishment, Department of the Air Force.

During the summer of 1948 a Social Science Division was added to The RAND Corporation. It includes political scientists, sociologists, and psychologists, most of them located at the Washington, D.C., office of The RAND Corporation, 1020 Vermont Avenue, N.W. The research program that has been initiated provides for subcontract and consultant arrangements with social scientists at academic research centers in addition to studies to be conducted by the staff.

The first sub-contract research projects are now under way at the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard, at Yale University and at the American Museum of Natural History.

RAND's policy is to encourage publication of research findings and the fullest possible interchange of information with scientists outside of RAND. Some studies, however, will have to be classified.

RAND's staff in the Social Sciences is headed

by Hans Speier, formerly of the New School for Social Research and the Department of State. Other members of the staff include W. Phillips Davison, editor of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*; Alexander L. George; Herbert Goldhamer, on leave from the University of Chicago; Joseph M. Goldsen; Abraham Halpern; Paul Kecskemeti; Nathan Leites, on a part-time arrangement with Yale University; Philip Selznick, on leave from the University of California (Los Angeles); and Renzo Sereno.

**United Nations.** In order that teachers and students may know where to turn for the information they desire and obtain it quickly, the United Nations Department of Public Information at Lake Success calls attention to the following publications:

- (1) A selected list of non-official publications on the United Nations for schools and colleges in the United States.
- (2) A list of the Embassies and Information Services maintained by the Member States in the United States which can furnish information about individual nations.
- (3) "What To Get and Where To Get It," a statement concerning where direct answers may be obtained to many questions.
- (4) Information concerning model meetings of United Nations Organs.
- (5) A list of Volunteer Educational Centers in the United States of America.
- (6) A list of United Nations publications recommended for schools and colleges.

**The Eastern Sociological Society** held its Nineteenth Annual Meeting on April 23 and 24, 1945, at the Hotel Commodore, New York, N.Y. Over three hundred persons were in attendance. The first morning session was devoted to Reports on Research Projects. Other section meetings included Social Stratification, The Family, Sociology of Law, International Research, and Sociology and Anthropology.

The following were elected officers of the Society for 1945-50: President: Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University. Vice-President: W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania. Members of the Executive Committee: Wilbert E. Moore, Princeton University; Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Queens College. Representative, Executive Committee, American Sociological Society: Nathan L. Whetten, University of Connecticut.

At the business meeting the Society unanimously adopted the following resolution prepared by a special Committee on Human Rights and Civil Rights:

In view of the fact that the United Nations has officially adopted a Declaration on Human Rights, this committee is of the opinion that it is not incumbent upon us to enter into this broad field. However, the committee accepts this Declaration as a general background against which it offers the following

recommendations with specific application to certain aspects of the rights of professional sociologists.

WHEREAS, There is a manifest tendency, which has reached crucial proportions in certain areas in the United States, to subject teachers to special restrictions and penalties not imposed upon other members of the community, We, the members of the Eastern Sociological Society at our 1949 Annual Meeting, do hereby affirm that the rights and responsibilities of the teacher as a citizen are identical with those of other members of the community in general.

We do further affirm that the primary basis for judging the fitness of any individual to hold a particular academic position lies in his meeting the professionally accepted standards of scholarship—impartiality and intellectual integrity—and his competence as a teacher.

For any sociologist who meets the foregoing historic academic standards, his own sense of right should be his guide with respect to his conduct in the classroom, in his research work, in his publications, or in any other activities of a definitely academic character.

These general principles apply equally to sociologists in nonacademic fields of scientific research or administration.

This committee recommends that, in view of the importance of the subject under consideration, and the rapidly changing aspects of the current American scene with regard to our profession, that the members of the Eastern Sociological Society hereby instruct the president, with the advice of the Executive Committee, to appoint immediately a standing committee on academic freedom.

It shall be the function of this proposed standing committee, (1) to consider and recommend possible revisions and additions to the foregoing statement of principles, and (2) to observe and study developing threats to academic freedom, and (3) actual infringements involving members of the Eastern Sociological Society, and, (4) to make recommendations to the society for appropriate action at future meetings, or, if urgent, to make a referendum of the members.

The Committee notes that this report is in line with previous recommendations endorsed by the American Sociological Society at the Annual Meeting on December 30, 1946; actions of the American Association of University Professors, the American Anthropological Society, and committees which have been appointed in other learned societies.

The committee wishes to call attention to the body of literature on the subject of academic freedom and the statement of principles by the American Association of University Professors as published in their Bulletin in the spring of 1948.

**The Pacific Sociological Society.** The Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held

in San Jose, California, on April 15 and 16. One hundred members of the Society were in attendance. Officers elected for the year 1949-50 are as follows:

President: George A. Lundberg, University of Washington.

Vice-President, Northern Division: Robert O'Brien, University of Washington.

Vice-President, Central Division: Robert Nisbet, University of California, Berkeley.

Vice-President, Southern Division: Leonard Bloom, University of California, Los Angeles.

Secretary-Treasurer: Gwynne Nettler, University of California, Santa Barbara College.

Elected to the Advisory Council: Pauline V. Young, Modesto, California; Glen A. Bakkum, Oregon State College.

*The Southern Sociological Society* held its Twelfth Annual Meeting on April 1 and 2, 1949, at the Andrew Johnson Hotel, Knoxville, Tennessee. Two hundred and twenty persons registered at the meeting, the largest number in the Society's history. An excellent program arranged by President Wayland J. Hayes of Vanderbilt University included the following sections: Social Work and Public Welfare, Teaching of Sociology, Communities and Natural Areas, Family and Population, and a section of contributed papers by graduate students. President Wayland J. Hayes and Past President William E. Cole of the University of Tennessee addressed a special evening meeting of the Society.

The officers of the Society for 1949-50 are: President: Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina. First Vice-President: Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi. Second Vice-President: William L. Leap, Council of Social Agencies, Knoxville. Secretary-Treasurer: Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Representative to the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society: H. C. Brearley, George Peabody College for Teachers. Elected members of the Executive Committee: Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College; J. A. Durrenberge, Georgia State Woman's College; Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University. Past Presidents on Executive Committee: Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky; Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State University; T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University.

*Boston University.* The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Boston University announces the appointment of two visiting lecturers to its staff for the 1949 summer session. Professor C. W. Topping of the University of British Columbia will give a course in Criminology and Professor Irving E. Mitchell of Lynchburg College will offer a course in Race Relations in the United States. Profes-

sor Albert Morris of Boston University has accepted appointment for the 1949 summer session as visiting lecturer at the University of British Columbia, where he will give a course in the Family.

*DePauw University.* Richard T. Oldham, has been named to the department of sociology. He will assume his duties in September. Oldham received a bachelor of science degree in education from Washington University, St. Louis, and will receive a master's degree in June. He is at present a teaching assistant at the university.

*Duke University.* Professor Howard E. Jensen delivered the Jarrell Foundation Lectures on "The Task of the Church in an Age of Social Crisis" at Emory University during the winter quarter.

Professor Edgar T. Thompson's "Race and Region: A Bibliography" has been published by the University of North Carolina Press.

*Stanford University.* Richard T. LaPiere, professor of sociology, is on leave in Europe for the spring and summer quarters. He is engaged in a pilot study of the effectiveness of the means of social control used by the Nazis in the occupied countries. While abroad he will visit English and French universities.

Paul Wallin has been promoted to the rank of professor, effective September 1949.

Paul Alfred Francis Walter, Jr., of the University of New Mexico is visiting professor of sociology for the summer quarter.

Bernard J. Siegel, associate professor of anthropology, has been granted leave of absence for the coming year to carry out a study of the processes of culture change in a selected area of Brazil. Dr. Marvin Opler of Occidental College will be his substitute for the year.

*Temple University.* Claude C. Bowman has completed a series of 25 lectures in a course correlating Sociology and Psychiatry. The lectures were given in the Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the Veterans Administration's Post-graduate Training Program in Neuropsychiatry.

Dr. Bowman is also serving as a Consultant in the Institute for Research in Human Relations, Philadelphia.

*University of Bridgeport.* Joseph S. Roucek, Chairman and Professor of the Departments of Sociology and Political Science, University of Bridgeport, will serve as Visiting Professor in Occidental College (Los Angeles) this summer. He has been recently elected an Associate Member of the Institut International d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle, the Sorbonne. The Philosophical Library has published the *Slavonic Encyclopedia*, with contributions from over 100 American and

foreign specialists under Roucek's supervision as Editor-in-Chief.

The Department of Sociology has formed a Sociology Colloquium, composed of Sociology majors and student members of the American Sociological Society. In addition to several meetings held by the Colloquium with outstanding American leaders of foreign background, the society at its annual meeting gave special awards to a student member of the Colloquium and to a member of the community for their special contributions to the development of sociology at the University.

**University of Chicago.** A Workshop for Research on Old Age is being held at the University of Chicago for three weeks from August 8 to 26 under the direction of Ernest W. Burgess and Robert J. Havighurst. Applications are invited from graduate students, teachers, and research workers who wish to share their experience with others and who wish to secure criticism of their research plans. In connection with the Workshop there will be a one week Institute in Problems of Aging from August 8 to 12.

A Committee on Communication has been established at the University of Chicago to carry on a teaching and research program in the field. In its inter-disciplinary concern with communication problems, the Committee utilizes the resources of the Division of the Social Sciences of the University and related professional schools. The Committee is interested not only in the mass media of communication but also in communication problems within small or specialized groups.

In its teaching program, the Committee does not grant degrees but provides major and minor fields that comprise part of the programs for Master's and Doctor's degrees in the several departments, committees, and schools of the University. The core program of instruction offered by the Committee consists of a sequence of three courses dealing with the theory and principles of communication, the economic organization and social control of the communication media, and the methods of communication research. In addition, it offers several research seminars on specific areas and problems.

In its research program the Committee is currently developing projects on the small community newspaper in a metropolitan region, on the effects of communication upon public opinion, on the therapeutic uses of communication, on problems of international communication, and on the measurement of psychological characteristics related to communication behavior.

The members of the Committee are Bernard Berelson, Associate Professor of Library Science and of the Social Sciences, Chairman; George H. Brown, Professor of Marketing; Sebastian de Grazia, Assistant Professor of the Social Sciences; Herbert Goldhamer, Associate Professor of Sociology; Edward A. Shils, Associate Professor of the Social Sciences;

Ralph W. Tyler, Dean of the Division of the Social Sciences; Douglas Waples, Professor of Researches in Reading; and Morris Janowitz, Research Associate. In addition, several other members of the social science faculty constitute an advisory group.

**University of Michigan.** Dr. Rensis Likert has been appointed the Director of the Institute for Social Research formed by the joining of the Survey Research Center and the Research Center for Group Dynamics. Dr. Angus A. Campbell becomes the Director of the Survey Research Center, and Dr. Dorwin Cartwright remains Director of the Research Center for Group Dynamics.

**University of Oklahoma.** Prof. Leonard Logan would be pleased to receive any information on the development of urban sociology during its formative years.

**University of Western Ontario.** Dr. Odin W. Anderson has been appointed Associate Professor in Charge of the Social Aspects of Medicine in the Department of Clinical Preventive Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. His previous position was Instructor in Public Health Economics, Bureau of Public Health Economics, School of Public Health, University of Michigan. He is charged with developing teaching methods, concepts, and research techniques in the field of social medicine and will lecture to first and fourth year medical students and students in the social sciences in the Arts School.

**Vanderbilt University.** Dr. Olen E. Leonard presently of the University of Texas has been appointed as Professor of Sociology effective September 1949. Dr. Leonard will be responsible for courses dealing with the family, rural sociology, and Latin American institutions.

Dr. Emilio Willems of the University of São Paulo, Brazil, has been appointed as visiting professor of anthropology for the year 1948-1949. Dr. Willems served with distinction as a member of the faculty of the Special Summer Session devoted to Brazilian Studies conducted at Vanderbilt in 1948.

Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss, who receives the Ph.D. degree from the University of North Carolina in June, 1949, joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology in January, 1949.

The University of São Paulo recently conferred the degree Doctor "Honoris Causa" upon T. Lynn Smith, head of the department and director of Vanderbilt's Institute for Brazilian Studies.

## OBITUARY

### ROY HINMAN HOLMES

1892-1949

On January 2 of the present year, Professor Roy Hinman Holmes of the Department of



Sociology, died after a service on this Faculty of more than thirty years. The son and grandson of pioneer farmers in Kent County, Michigan, he was born near the village of Sparta in 1882, grew up on a farm in that community, and attended the Sparta High School. Later he took courses in Michigan Agricultural College (now Michigan State College), subsequently transferring to Hillsdale College, from which he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1911. Meanwhile he had been married to Myrtle E. Field of Sparta, who, along with a son, Owen Field, and a grandson, Garth Owen, of Detroit, and a sister, Mrs. Floyd E. Johnson, of Jackson, are his immediate survivors.

Coming to the University of Michigan in June of 1911, he earned a Master's degree in English the next year, with part of his work in sociology under the late Charles Horton Cooley. This was the beginning of a contact that was destined to create in Holmes a lasting interest in sociology, and also to determine the nature of his life's work. From 1912 to 1918 he was Alumni Professor of English in his own alma mater. Returning to the University in the summer of 1918 as Instructor in Sociology, he resumed his studies under Professor Cooley, and assisted him in the conduct of his large introductory course. In addition to this work, Holmes developed a course in "Rural Sociology," which came rather naturally to be his main interest in the field. His textbook on the subject, published in 1932 by McGraw-Hill, had a wide and favorable reception. In the meantime, he had been made an Assistant Professor in 1922 on the basis of his effective teaching and administrative ability. In 1927, he was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology by the University. The title of his thesis was "A Study in the Origins of Distinguished Living Americans."

Of his influence and the general bent of his mind, a word should be said. His tendency to be critical of all attempts to over-idealize country life may have been, in part, a rationalization of his own unhappy experiences as a young man on a Michigan farm, but he felt that his later rural research studies substantiated his beliefs. Following out Cooley's concept of democracy as

a social system that should provide free choice and opportunity for personal development, Holmes regarded the traditional American family farm as an institution alien to the true freedom of the members of the family, especially the women and children. Rural life as a distinct culture pattern in American society he contrasted unfavorably with life in urban centers where people are exposed to more invigorating stimuli and broader opportunities for advancement. Holmes did not develop his own constructive solution to the problem he set, but at one time he was inclined to believe that some sort of corporate farming should supplant the historic type of family farm. In October, 1912, he published an article on the subject in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

It goes without saying that these views run directly counter to all the shibboleths and fallacies that one sometimes hears, such as "Back to the Farm!" "God Made the Country," "Great Men are Bred in the Country," and similar half truths. In the changing social order in which we live, it is entirely possible that Holmes may prove to have been right.

Finally, it should be noted that just as Holmes derived his original inspiration from Professor Cooley, the influence of that great teacher persisted in all that he thought and wrote. In his passion for carrying on the Cooley tradition, he peculiarly illustrated the truth of Chaucer's famous line, so aptly used by the speaker at the funeral service: "And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach." Teaching was indeed his passion and his life. His heart was bound up with it, and all his best energies went into it.

On the personal side, one thinks of Professor Holmes as a somewhat solitary person, sensitive and reticent by nature, a thinker who carefully thought out what he had to say and whose words were often lighted up by his own quiet humor. He was a dedicated spirit with a goodly number of devoted students. They, along with his colleagues in Sociology and in the University at large, have suffered a great loss in his death.

ARTHUR E. WOOD  
ROBERT C. ANGELL  
W. HARRY MACK

*University of Michigan*

## BOOK REVIEWS



*The American Democracy.* By HAROLD J. LASKI.  
New York: The Viking Press, 1948. x, 785  
pp. \$6.50.

No one doubts the exceptional qualifications of Professor Laski to write a full-scale study of American politics and civilization. Ever since his meteoric appearance many years ago at Harvard, Laski has been in close and frequent association with Americans of many kinds.

The qualities of the Laski mind and style shine through the pages of this lengthy book. Here the socialist orator, pamphleteer, tactician, planner, and thinker foresees and welcomes the American commonwealth as an evolutionary socialistic fellow-traveller with the labor democracy of Britain. The outcome, it is true, is not alleged to be "inevitable" in the sense that nothing can turn it aside. After all, Laski is not enough of a Marx-Marxist to accept in full the canon of inevitability. Hence there are hints that the dragons of private monopoly may enslave the hero in a fascist dungeon before he scales the heights. At the same time it is freely conceded that giant corporations may perish by attrition without putting up a catastrophic struggle.

The Laski version of America is a socialist edition of the account of our civilization to which currency has been given by Parrington, Becker, Beard and other academic liberals of the last generation. A leading theme of the liberal interpretation was the danger to the American dream of fraternity that rises from the brute fact of plutocracy. The Laski gloss is the hopelessness of the free market, and the wisdom of big-scale socialization. The liberals praised competitiveness and viewed Big Government and Big Business with mistrust.

The procedure in the Laski book is to pass from facet to facet of American life, taking note of the alleged peril to freedom that comes from the growing concentration of wealth in private hands. But in every instance capitalism cannot be taken as the root of all evil. The caste mentality of the White South was formed under conditions which were, to say the least, not fully capitalistic. The significant tie-up is said to be that caste residues are kept aflame as

part of the strategy of class defense by private owners.

The Laski version of America stands or falls with the truth or falsity of the socialist view of our historical period. As matters stand today the world-view of socialist tradition is becoming less and less tenable. Liberalism and socialism were the Siamese twins of the nineteenth and early twentieth century ideologies. They were two guesses, and recommendations, about how the world would attain one great end. They were one in the choice and prediction of the end, namely, a free society. And they may be equally false as forecasts.

The accelerated tempo of techno-scientific development probably does not spell liberalization or socialization, but militarization. Not the classless society of perfect competition or perfect socialism is coming into being, but rather the caste-bound battlements of the garrison-prison state (or states). For over a century, as Hans Speier and others have pointed out, a process of militarization has been making headway in Western and world politics. Only by the obstinate neglect of flagrant social facts has it been possible to pretend that the most significant changes of modern times fit the liberal-socialist model. Too many social scientists allowed themselves to lose sight of the special circumstances which produced a seeming eclipse of violence and symbols as bases of power.

If the dominant issue of our time is not liberalism or socialism, but every form of mobile institution *versus* caste, the portrait of American democracy is not as Professor Laski has drawn it. It is probable that our American academic liberals were closer to the mark than their reviser. For certain liberals were not entirely taken in by their own liberalism, and certainly not by the socialist alternative. They were probing for the insight that minds must be freed of automatic admiration for the various devices by which production is carried on. Such gadgets, whether they spell the social or private control of resources, are often capable of giving equally anti-democratic results. The older liberals were more confident than the socialists

in human ability to devise a multiplicity of means by which the gap between textbook socialism and textbook capitalism could be bridged. The academic liberals were more sensitive to the dangers of all blanket power, and more willing to applaud thinkers and leaders who kept alive the centrifugal forces of society than the conventional socialists—not excluding the Laski of post-pluralistic years.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

*Yale Law School*

*The New Men of Power: America's Labor Leaders.* By C. WRIGHT MILLS, with the assistance of HELEN SCHNEIDER. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. 323 pp. \$3.50.

Not often does the dust-jacket blurb understate the merits of a book. Of this work, it is advertised: "Not since *The Managerial Revolution* has there appeared a book on American economic life so fresh, so hard-hitting, so iconoclastic as *The New Men of Power*." On all these counts, it is superior to Burnham's book. It is both a careful examination of the facts relevant to its extraordinarily fruitful hypotheses and a provocative argument showing on the whole both sharp insight and sound judgment.

It should be read and discussed widely by professional economists, sociologists, and political scientists as a significant contribution to each of their disciplines and should receive the great public attention given to Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*, a less scholarly and less original work. It will appeal especially to the interests of those who find in such books as Burnham's *Managerial Revolution*, Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Polanyi's *Great Transformation* and Sturmhthal's *Tragedy of European Labor* provocative interpretations of the main drift of economic and political life and hence significant contributions to an understanding of our society, its problems, and prospects.

A substantial part of Mills' book is taken up with such descriptive material as the national and occupational origins of the union leader, his formal education, his occupational history, and his attitudes on a variety of fairly concrete questions. The remainder is given over to theses concerning labor leaders as a new elite: their power, their strategic importance both in the economy and in politics, their capacity for leadership, and their prospects. The descriptive material is presumably designed to provide evidence for the theses; in actual fact,

a substantial part of it, though useful as information, is unnecessary for Mills' purposes.

Mills' argument in general is that "what the labor leader does, or fails to do, may be the key to what will happen in the U. S." "It is the task of the labor leaders to allow and to initiate a union of the power and the intellect. They are the only ones who can do it: that is why they are now the strategic elite in American society" (pp. 3 and 291). The scope of the inquiry is probably broader than the title would suggest to many prospective readers. But, as Mills writes: "To ask what sort of man the labor leader is, is also to ask what sort of organization he is running and what sort of country he is running it in" (p. 3).

It should go without saying that no thoughtful reader could possibly agree with everything in this book, and most thoughtful readers will disagree with much of it. Given Mills' intention to provide a new diagnosis of power in the United States, his book would be a failure if its original theses were not disputed. And the reviewer's opinion that the book will eventually be proved wrong on some important issues is less a criticism than a comment on the inevitable risks of imaginative and productive scholarship.

The shrewdness of Mills' insights into our society is well illustrated in his brief characterizations of the thinking of the "political publics": the far left, the independent left, the liberal center, the Communists, the practical right, and the sophisticated conservatives. "The practical conservatives," Mills writes, for example, "can duel noisily with the liberals because they have the same short-run, shifting attention and the same agitated indignation. The practical conservatives always enter politics with an economic gleam in their eyes. During Democratic administrations and during depressions, they display the psychology of the cornered animal; during Republican years and during wars or booms, they are gruff but ebullient" (p. 23).

The reviewer, an economist, is disheartened to see here and there in the book naive and incorrect statements on somewhat technical economic problems and concepts, as in Mills' definition of a labor union and exposition of its impact on the market (p. 6ff) and in his pronouncements on the power of the employer over the employee (p. 8). But relative to the accomplishments of the book, these are indeed small defects.

Mills' views on the nature of the next major depression are probably much over-simplified. Since they are essential to the development of

some important parts of the argument, this reviewer is inclined to consider them an important weakness in the diagnosis of the "main drift" of our society. Slumps are not all of the same pattern, but Mills' estimates of how the next one will influence political alignments seem to rest on the assumption that, like the depression of the 'thirties, the next one will come suddenly, be very severe, and will be allowed to continue for a time without countermeasures being taken.

In view of the outcome of the recent election, which may have indicated an unsuspected degree of radicalism in the population, and which also has demonstrated the political potentialities of organized labor, the arguments of this book have gained in persuasiveness since it was written. Had it been published and reviewed in the popular press after the election, rather than before, its significance would have been more widely recognized.

It is always clear in the book that Mills is a genuine democrat and that he hopes to find in unionism the kind of leadership required in our democracy today. But, should it be supposed that he is uncritical of organized labor, one need only read the final sentence which reflects and summarizes much of Mills' thinking in the book. "Never has so much depended upon men who are so ill-prepared and so little inclined to assume the responsibility."

CHARLES E. LINDBLOM

Yale University

*Forecasts of the Population of the United States: 1945-1975.* By P. K. WHELPTON, assisted by HOPE TISDALE ELDRIDGE and JACOB S. SIEGEL. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1947. 113 pp. 45 cents.

This report is a revision of the third set of population projections prepared by W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton for the former National Resources Planning Board and published in 1943 as *Estimates of Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000*. The methods used in the 1943 report have not been changed, and only minor alterations have been introduced in the assumptions. The main purpose of the revision was to make available population projections with a 1945 instead of 1940 base, thus taking into account the wartime experience.

The present report is divided into three parts. One chapter is devoted to a presentation of the methods and assumptions underlying the projections and to an excellent analysis of past

trends in mortality and fertility rates in the United States, Europe, and Australasia. In the next chapter the projected trends in total population and population structure are clearly summarized. The following changes can be reasonably anticipated: "(a) a decrease in the amount and rate of population growth, and perhaps eventually a stationary or diminishing population, (b) a large increase in the number of persons in the older age groups, and (c) either a small increase or a decrease in the number of children and youths, but with erratic fluctuations at certain ages" (p. 55). Thus, to quote some figures, under the assumptions of medium mortality, medium fertility and no net immigration a maximum population of about 164,500,000 is to be reached in the 1980's. The aging of the population is reflected by the fact that, with the same assumptions, the proportion of people over 65 can be expected to increase from 7.2 per cent in 1945 to 10.9 per cent in 1975. An interpretation of the social and economic implications of these important changes is given in the last chapter. A major portion of this interpretation is quite convincing, but the section dealing with the "economic implications of diminishing population growth" is highly controversial.

The detailed tables appended to the text of the report will prove very valuable to the users of the projections. As in the previous reports, these tables give projections for certain combinations of high, medium, and low mortality and fertility rates, no net immigration, 100,000 and 200,000 yearly net immigration.

A few words are in order concerning the procedures used by P. K. Whelpton and his associates in obtaining their projections. Age specific death rates for males and females of the native-white population and age specific fertility rates for the same population are projected to the terminal year 2000. Given these rates and given the base population in 1945, the native white population by age and sex can be calculated for future years. This information is used to derive the age and sex composition of the foreign-born white and colored population.

In projecting fertility and mortality rates, the authors decided not to extrapolate past trends by a mathematical curve. They preferred instead to form an "opinion" as to the likely rates to be expected at the terminal future date of 2000 and then "to obtain rates for intervening years by interpolation" (p. 10). The "opinion" is arrived at after an analysis of past trends and possible future levels. This analysis is admirable and includes an apt summary of the



major causal factors underlying past trends; but this reviewer was not always able to see exactly how it led to the formulation of the basic assumptions.

It must also be noted that the range between the assumed future "high" and "low" mortality and fertility rates is such that the resultant projected populations are quite different in size and structure. Thus for "high" fertility it is assumed that the Gross Reproduction Rate of the United States will remain at the 1935-44 level of 112, while the figure for the "low" level is 73. These rates may be well within the range of what could reasonably be expected to happen, but their demographic implications are quite different. What is needed, in addition to these valuable alternatives is what the demographer G. N. Calvert has called a "considered forecast." Such a forecast is based on what is most likely to happen and, hence, is fairly short-range and must be revised at frequent intervals. The authors' "medium" projection does not seem to fulfill its requirement exactly, while their forecast for the years 1946-1949 is in effect a "considered forecast." It is hoped that in the future the authors will extend somewhat the period of their short-range forecasts. Such figures could be revised as often as possible, without necessitating any frequent changes in the long-run projections.

GEORGES SABAGH

*University of Washington*

*Rural Life in the United States.* By CARL C. TAYLOR, and others. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., xvii, 549, xii pp. \$6.75 (Text edition, \$5.00).

This book, designed as a text in rural sociology, was written by eight authors all of whom are, or have been, affiliated with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, of which Dr. Taylor is Head, in the United States Department of Agriculture. Each author writes more or less as a specialist in his particular topic and each has his name signed to his own writings so that his contributions can be readily identified. Of the thirty chapters constituting the work, eleven carry joint authorship (two persons in each case); the others are each by a single author.

The work is divided into five parts. Part I, entitled *Rural Society and Rural Sociology*, contains two chapters. These stake out the field of rural sociology and discuss the evolution of American rural society. Part II, called *Rural Organization*, contains nine chapters: "The Farm

Home and Family," "Rural Neighborhoods and Communities," "Rural Trade Areas and Villages," "The Rural School and Education," "The Rural Church and Religion," "Rural Local Government," "Rural Health," "Rural Welfare," and "Rural Recreation and Art."

Part III, *Rural People*, contains seven chapters: two on population, and one on each of the following topics: "Occupational Patterns of Rural Population," "Landowners and Tenants," "Farm Laborers," "Levels and Standards of Living," and "Rural Social Differentials."

Part IV, entitled *Rural Regions*, is unique in rural sociology textbooks in that it describes seven type-farming areas of the United States as if each were a cultural region. It is argued that these areas are significant as rural universes, since "the production of the same farm product or combination of products results in many common activities among the people, and therefore in broadly similar interests, attitudes, and values" (p. 339). One chapter is devoted to each area as follows: "The Cotton Belt," consisting of 690 counties and containing three-tenths of the nation's farm population; "The Corn Belt," with its 469 counties, 900,000 farms and checkerboard pattern of settlement; "The Wheat Areas," consisting of the winter-wheat belt centered in western Kansas, the spring-wheat belt centered in North Dakota, and the wheat areas of the Columbia basin; "The Range-Livestock Areas," where families usually live from fifteen to fifty miles apart; "The Dairy Areas" in northeastern United States extending from Minnesota to New England; "The Western Specialty-Crop Area" of the far West which have been rescued from the semi-arid range and desert waste land through the development of irrigation projects; and "The General and Self-Sufficing Areas," which include most of the uplands east of the Rockies. A summary chapter for this section is called, "Comparisons and Contrasts of Major Type-Farming Areas."

Part V, called *Farmers in a Changing World*, contains two chapters: "Farm People's Attitudes and Opinions," and "Significant Trends and Direction of Change." A useful bibliography of fifteen pages, by chapters, concludes the work.

The book is well written and should be very useful as a text in rural sociology. The approach is much better integrated than one might expect from a product of eight authors. The regional analysis in the last half of the book is particularly good and is a distinct contribution which will be of interest not only to

students of rural sociology but to sociologists generally. In a few cases there is need for greater refinement by cutting down the size of the areas. For example, in the "Western Specialty-Crop Areas," northern Utah and southern Idaho are included. But Mormon culture tends to exert such pronounced influence on the social organization in these two states that exceptions for them are required to almost every generalization drawn for the area. Likewise, in the "general and self-sufficing areas," there is inconsistency in grouping together much of southern New England (with its network of highways and other communication facilities, and with all farmers living within an hour's drive of a large city) and the isolated sections of the Appalachian-Ozarks where social and cultural isolation are apparent. Much more homogeneity could be achieved in these regions by further restricting the boundaries. For the most part, however, the type-farming areas represent rather clear-cut cultural areas and the analysis is most helpful in understanding the variations in rural life throughout the country.

The work contains many very excellent illustrations with 48 maps and charts, 33 plates, and 63 tables. It is an important addition to the literature in rural sociology.

N. L. WHETTEN

*The University of Connecticut*

*Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut.* By HENRY W. RIECKEN, JR., and NATHAN L. WHETTEN. Storrs, Connecticut: Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station (Bulletin 261), 1948. 138 pp. No price indicated.

This is the fifth and best of the competent Storrs studies of suburbanization in Connecticut. It contributes significantly to several fields: community organization, social history, and cultural change.

Litchfield County exemplifies many basic patterns of the rural Northeast—commercial agriculture (here dairying), seasonal residents, foreign-born immigrants, suburbanization, and part-time farming. The historical background and present status of these complex developments are clearly outlined. While the earlier Storrs studies tended to be unduly empirical, this one analyzes with a wealth of interpretive insight such topics as occupations, formal and informal groups, and levels of living. There are unusually incisive treatments of the assimilation of the foreign-born, the displacement of kinship and neighborhood groups by local functional associations, and the trend toward the

differentiated modes of urban life. At some points the professional reader can push the analysis farther than Riecken and Whetten carry it.

The authors' sympathetic understanding occasionally becomes unnecessarily evaluative. Thus the "plain, solid colors" of rural life are contrasted with the "strident, gaudy" city influences (p. 31). The central value structure is too loosely conceptualized (chap. 12); these remarks could refer to almost any American community. More could have been said about structural strains, especially those stemming from the commercialization of agriculture, still far from completed. Given the overcapitalization of many one-family dairy farms and the low level of rationalization in milk distribution, Federal subsidies and wartime prosperity may postpone, but can hardly avert, further profound changes in rural life.

But these are minor criticisms, or subjects for future Storrs bulletins. The Litchfield project is so far superior to other works on rural New England that it ranks with the best American community studies. Lacking the psychological insights of *Plainville, USA*, the Litchfield study is the more systematic and subtle in its structural and historical analysis. It should be widely read by professionals and laymen. Not the least of its contributions should be to discredit half-baked effusions on rural New England periodically published by city literati who are sometime victims of its virtues and charm.

ARTHUR K. DAVIS

*Union College*

*America Divided.* By ARNOLD and CAROLINE ROSE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1948. xi, 342 pp. \$3.00.

The book under review has as its objective an analysis of the problem of minority relations in the United States. After dwelling briefly on the nature and significance of intergroup antagonisms, the authors discuss the problem of minorities in the past and at present. Following this is a description of the position of several ethnic and racial groups in the economic, political, and social life of the country, as well as under the American legal system. The succeeding chapters are devoted to a discussion of group identification, the nature and characteristics of the minority community, the concepts of "race," the psychology of race prejudice, and a prognosis of the future state of minority problems.

The authors express dissatisfaction, perhaps rightly so, with the existing definitions of the term "minority" in sociological literature, but their own definition of a group which is "generally hated because of religious, racial, or nationality background" hardly adds to the clarification or increases the usefulness of the term. The authors further explain that this hating is done by the "majority"—a term they use freely without defining it at all. One wonders what group, ethnic, racial, or religious, constitutes the "majority" that hates the "minority" in New York, Chicago, and numerous other cities, towns, counties, and even states, in which the "majority" is actually the minority. The "majority" thus becomes a sort of mystical group, or force, which is most difficult to perceive.

A commendable feature of the book is its brief, but incisive, analysis of anti-Catholic sentiment in this country. The authors maintain that owing to the expansionist policy of the Catholic Church—namely, its strong efforts to gain adherents among Protestants and its attempt to impose its ideologies and doctrines upon the country as a whole, as expressed in its agitation for public support of parochial schools and its stand on questions regarding marriage and the family and on those concerning a number of other phases of life—anti-Catholic feeling, which had almost disappeared, has been revived. The trend, they assert, is unmistakable, and, should it continue, is likely to become one of this country's worst intergroup problems.

About one-third of the book is devoted to a consideration of the position of minority groups in American life. While minorities encounter various degrees of discrimination in all spheres of activity, they encounter perhaps the least discrimination in the legal sphere and the most in the social. It is in the latter that both discrimination and prejudice are most prevalent and assume the most serious forms, affecting minorities in every phase of their life.

In their discussion of the minorities problems in social life, the authors dwell especially on the phenomenon of segregation. Segregation, they maintain, whether imposed from the outside, i.e., by the "majority," or self-imposed, which they equate with a kind of "cultural pluralism," is based on a racist ideology. Cultural pluralism they hold, even if it does not advocate segregation but maintains that the members of different groups should voluntarily separate themselves in order to develop their own unique cultural characteristics and thus contribute to the enrichment of the general cul-

ture, is fundamentally anti-democratic as well as inconsistent with reality. It is anti-democratic because it implies the segregating of members of different groups, and it is inconsistent with facts because only certain members of any particular cultural group are equipped to cultivate the heritage of their group, or are interested in doing so. The more democratic as well as the more realistic stand regarding this problem, opine the authors, would be to allow and to encourage individuals, no matter what their group, to develop those aspects of culture which particularly appeal to them, regardless of whether they be those of their ancestors' or not. In taking this attitude, the authors certainly express a humane and democratic principle. But how does this tackle the problem in question—that of the natural desire of groups to preserve their cultural heritage and of adjusting it to the dominant culture?

In the chapter on group identification, the authors advance the thesis that the feeling of kinship among members of a group is based neither upon the group's biological make-up nor upon its "intrinsic social structure." It is due rather to "pressure from the outside and the consequences of that pressure." Little objection, of course, can be raised to the assertion that group identification has no biological foundation. But if by "intrinsic social structure" they mean culture, and evidently they do, then their pronouncement is quite puzzling. As to the pressure, or prejudice from the outside, few would deny that it is an important factor, but it is highly doubtful whether it has the determining force that the authors ascribe to it.

The authors are of the opinion that while group discrimination and antagonism involving violence are on the decline in the United States, the belief in racial, i.e., biological superiority is holding its own. Hence, while crude forms of prejudice are gradually disappearing, refined forms, the "gentlemanly" kind, persist. The road toward the elimination of intergroup antagonisms, they state, is beset with great difficulties. Their removal from society is like the removal of a neurosis from an individual. On the whole, however, the trend is "in the direction of a gradual reduction in discrimination and prejudice."

The book is written in a clear and highly readable style and is thought-provoking. The analysis of the various types of discrimination is excellent, as is that of the problems faced by the Negroes and Jews. On the whole, despite its shortcomings, the book represents a lucid

exposition of a complex problem and contributes considerably towards its clarification.

A word or two about the title of the volume. This book discussing "America Divided" was preceded, by a few years, by one describing "One America." One wonders, therefore, who is on the right track—those who see America "divided" or those who view it as "one." It is to be hoped that the differences in the conception of America as expressed by these titles are only on the surface and that all sociologists desire "The More Perfect Union" so eloquently expounded recently by Professor R. M. MacIver.

SAMUEL KOENIG

Brooklyn College

*Separation of Church and State in the United States.* By ALVIN W. JOHNSON and FRANK H. YOST. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948. 279 pp. \$4.50.

One of the significant characteristics of modern civilization is the relative freedom of the state from the influence and power of the church. This freedom has been most completely achieved in the United States. The essay in review traces the involvement of religion in the establishment of colonial America and its gradual definition as an institution apart from the political and legal functions of the state. The authors take the view that the separation of church and state not only benefits the state but also contributes to the welfare of religion particularly. Their thesis may be deduced from the dictum of a United States Supreme Court decision, which they cite: "We have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation between the state and religion is best for the state and best for religion" (p. 262).

The title of this book is probably too inclusive. It is in fact a revision and enlargement of the senior author's work, *The Legal Status of Church-State Relations in the United States*. More than half of its content is concerned with a painstaking study of the way in which statutes (fundamentally the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution) and court decisions have sought to limit the use of the public schools and public-school finances for religious purposes. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press and religion, and "Sunday legislation" are considered consecutively.

To those who expect a last-word, ideological statement on the relationship between church and state in modern society, this study will be

disappointing. Perhaps, in the interest of orientation, the authors might have discussed the trend in Western society toward the subordination of the political functions of the church; thus the situation in the United States might have been seen less as "an American experiment" than a development. Ever since 829 A.D. when Venetian merchants brought from Alexandria to Venice the miraculous remains of St. Mark and held them as a constant foil to the pretensions of the successor of St. Peter at Rome, the leaders of capitalist civilization have been concerned with problems of neutralizing the political power of the church. More than once these leaders have discovered that they went too far.

Nevertheless, this work presents a dramatic story of courageous resistance by legal means against numerous studied devices to implicate the state in the sponsorship of religion.

OLIVER C. COX

Tuskegee Institute

*Black Odyssey: The Story of the Negro in America.* By ROY OTTLEY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. viii, 340 pp. \$3.50.

Ottley, a well-known Negro journalist, has written a frankly journalistic history of the American Negro from 1619 to the present day. Better histories are available—notably that by John Hope Franklin—but Ottley has sought to make his history short and highly readable. In this he has succeeded, for the story moves forward rapidly and dramatically; it is full of examples and human interest stories, although figures and documents are only occasionally cited. Perhaps the selectivity is too great. There are no footnotes. There are a number of small errors: (1) The proportion of Negroes voting for Roosevelt in 1932 is cited (p. 265) at 23 per cent; actually this was for selected areas of Chicago only, as it would be impossible to get a national figure. (2) The number of lynchings between 1945 and 1948 is said to be "forty-odd" (p. 305); this is much too large if a formal definition of lynching is used. (3) Walter White is said to have studied in France before joining the N.A.A.C.P. (p. 282); but not according to Mr. White's recent autobiography; etc. The book also suffers from having relatively too much material on New York, and too little on the South. And there is a certain amount of simple stringing of stories along—e.g. from the scholar-politician DuBois we leap to Matthew Henson whose only distinction was that he accompanied Peary to the North Pole (p. 221).



The strengths and weaknesses of this particular book are not what make it of interest to sociologists and historians. Our interest is in Negro history itself, and in the fact that the standard histories written by whites have almost no point of contact with Negro history. Few white historians or sociologists give any hint of what are major considerations of Negro historians: (1) for their first 40 to 100 years in the English colonies, Negroes were not slaves but indentured servants, a status they held in common with many whites; (2) until the beginning of the 19th century there was little systematic segregation of lower class whites and Negroes; (3) not until around 1830 did there begin that systematic subordination and terrorization of Negroes which sociologists today consider to be characteristics of the American caste system; (4) in the post-Civil War era Southern poor whites and Northern liberal whites almost succeeded in establishing a democratic political and social system in the South without violence, but a combination of Southern plantation owners and Northern politicians defeated them; (5) the South did not reach its highest point of brutality and repression of Negroes until 1890-1910. If these are facts, and this reviewer believes there is sound evidence for so viewing them, most white historians and sociologists are laboring under serious delusions regarding race relations in this country. A foundation might do well to organize a small team of Negro and white historians to review systematically all the evidence together.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

Washington University

*American Me*. By BEATRICE GRIFFITH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948. x, 340 pp. \$3.50.

*American Me* describes very well the social life of Mexican-Americans—particularly those in Southern California. The author, for many years a social worker in Mexican-American communities, has woven a series of selected personal stories of Mexican-American children (each story used illustratively and followed with an exposition of a segment of Mexican-American life, i.e., the family, church, schools, law, etc.) into a fairly complete and coherent portrayal of the life of North America's fourth largest minority, its *modus vivendi* in a generally hostile environment. The shameful and ruthless exploitation of Mexican labor, the flagrant injustices done them in areas of housing, health, education, legal protection and, most important, the devastating consequences which

these precipitate in twisted and disillusioned young personalities—these are all rather vividly portrayed.

The author has collected and made skillful use of personal documents that are full and rich. There is always a suspicion that "lower-class" persons as articulate, insightful, and "marginal" as these informants, might be somewhat unrepresentative of the group that is the object of study. But a hindsight perspective confirms that, at least sooner or later, the masses of the minority group come to have essentially the same anxieties. It would doubtless be helpful to have similar stories of the more "successful" and Americanized Mexicans in order more fully to perceive the acculturative and assimilative processes.

As a contribution to social science this document should be thought of primarily as a source reference, for there is no serious attempt to orient raw data in terms of established or projected theory. But students of race and culture will nevertheless find this document suggestive. The impact of American culture on the old Mestizo ways of life, for instance, has produced among the Mexican-Americans of California and Texas a new culture—a new language, new dress, new folklore, new self-conceptions. Underneath there presumably are fundamental and generic processes of culture contact which need to be isolated and defined. The author indeed suggests something of a "natural history" by dividing the book into three sections as "The Smoke," "The Fire," and "The Phoenix."

It is, finally, a rather serious fact that, in the process of becoming Americanized, the Mexican-Americans are having destroyed those very values of religion, marriage, and the family which have given meaning, purpose, and order to their lives. American culture, at the time, can offer nothing that is an adequate substitute. This is, of course, the problem of secularizing a culture to achieve adaptability and flexibility in a swiftly changing world, and at the same time preserving or creating some norms sufficiently sacred so that organized and integrated personal living is possible. Social scientists have the obligation to contribute the theory for such a problem as this, but that can be done only after more observing and reporting of the raw materials of cultural change in some such clear and simple manner as *American Me*.

ALVIN W. ROSE

Fisk University

*These Our People: Minorities in American Culture.* By R. A. SCHERMERHORN. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949. x, 635 pp. \$4.50.

Schermerhorn presupposes little if any previous sociological training among the readers to whom this book is addressed, since he aims to reach not only college students in beginning courses but also "businessmen, labor leaders, farmers, clergymen, civic officers, and journalists." Beginning each chapter with one or more case examples from actual life helps to set the informal and popular tone of the volume. The author makes no attempt to provide a definitive report on all minority groups in the United States; he limits his treatment to ten selected minority groups: American Negroes (who receive most attention), Indians, Mexican and Spanish-speaking Americans, Japanese Americans, Italo-Americans, Polish Americans, Czech and Slovak Americans, Hungarian Americans, Yugoslav Americans, and the American Jews.

That numerous slips of the pen crop up is probably inevitable in a work so studded with details. But such errors are few and trifling. Sometimes the author depends too heavily upon "dated" studies, a weakness which becomes apparent when we realize the extent of changes in problems of America's minorities stemming from World War II and the influx of a new kind of "refugee." In fact, the problems of these latter immigrants really demand a special chapter. They not only differ from those of the "old" minorities; their arrival has created burning political, economic, and social consequences.

The author is at his best in his last section, "When Peoples Meet." There he covers "Minority Patterns of Adjustment; Uniformities and Variabilities," "Prejudice and Its Reduction," "Programs and Policies for Minority Problems," and "Epilogue: Things to Remember." All in all, Schermerhorn's book has substantial merits. There are more brilliant and comprehensive works in this field, but as a textbook which moves toward a limited goal the volume is one of the most able presentations of the field that has been published in a long time.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

*University of Bridgeport*

*Mirror for Americans—Japan.* By HELEN MEARS. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. xiv, 329 pp. \$3.50.

In 1942 Helen Mears published a book called

*Year of the Wild Boar*, an account of Japanese life and also of her learning about that life. Her new book, *Mirror for Americans—Japan*, is filled with her recent discovery of the history of Japan and of Japan's relations with the western powers and the relations of all of them with China. While many of the data are old and familiar, her interpretations of these data are new enough to have aroused most of the newspaper book reviewers to condemn *Mirror for Americans* as dangerous thought.

Just as Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is an analysis of Japan's internal social structure and is a contribution to social science using Japan as an example, so *Mirror for Americans* is an analysis of Japan's external relations and serves as a contribution to the same science. It is a treatment after the manner of Thucydides—with due attention to the distinction between act and pious word in relations between states.

The book presents the following points for consideration:

a) Japan, like other Asiatic nations, wished to be left alone by the West. She was anything but aggressive and warlike in her foreign relations for several centuries prior to Perry.

b) After being forced into external trade and political relations with the United States and other western nations, she attempted to emulate the West insofar as necessary to maintain her independence (having witnessed the fate of neighboring countries).

c) In so doing she found herself in conflict with China over Korea and Russia over Manchuria.

d) Western powers, anxious to keep China from being monopolized by any one of them, established the open door policy and made it necessary for Japan to join in this as well (but without reciprocal open door policies in areas of British or French colonial areas).

d) The United States, in refusing to allow Japan and China to settle the war begun in 1937 between themselves and by initiating an economic blockade of Japan, while talking peace, deliberately instigated the desperate attack of Japan on the West in 1941.

In the light of these propositions, Miss Mears also discusses a number of myths about Japan which are firmly believed by many westerners, myths which appear to be necessary to a maintenance of the white man's domination in Asia and the suppression of any dynamic Asiatic leadership.

a) Japan is an inherently warlike and aggressive nation. This statement is analyzed by comparing the history of war and territorial expansion by Japan, the United States, and Europe during the past 300 years. Particular attention is given to colonial expansion in east Asia.

b) The occupation is a necessary punishment for Japan's crimes. In attempting to determine the guilt of Japan, each charge is held up in the light of the history of American and European activities in Asia and Africa during the past century or so.

A basic problem raised in the book concerns the cause of America's domineering foreign policy in regard to Japan's relations with China. As Miss Mears points out, the economic factor, often cited, is in fact something of a mirage. A love of "the democratic way of life" provides no answer either since, in actual practice, Japan in the 1920's and 30's had more representative government than China. But a factor of real significance is that Japan, an Asiatic country, was trying to behave as a political equal of a European nation. This fact, often overlooked, probably accounts for a great deal of the conflict between Japan and the West and ultimately may account for further trouble between other parts of Asia and the West. By the record, as Miss Mears shows, Japan did nothing in the past century not done equally by Britain, France and, by association, by the United States. But these were "white" nations. The problem of race relations in international relations is a real one and Miss Mears' book is one of the first to give it serious treatment. For this reason, *Mirror for Americans—Japan* is a contribution to the sociology of nations. It is also the sort of book any occupation official in Japan should read with care.

JOHN F. EMBREE

Yale University

*Technology and International Relations.* Edited by WILLIAM F. OGBURN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. vii, 202 pp. \$4.00.

Based on material presented in a group of lectures sponsored by the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation in Chicago, May 1948, this book relates to international affairs four areas of technology: the airplane, mass-communications, atomic energy, and those inventions which cluster around steam and steel. The contributors to this symposium are Bernard Brodie, William T. R. Fox, Hornell Hart,

Robert Leigh, William Fielding Ogburn, Abbot Payson Usher, and Quincy Wright. Only two, Ogburn and Hart, can be classed as professional sociologists.

Professor Ogburn, in the first two of his three chapters, attempts to integrate the material in this collection while at the same time stating his position on matters technological. These articles, while elementary to the sociologist, are important for the layman since, in addition to stating the author's position, they present a frame of reference which facilitates the understanding of later sections. As Ogburn notes, every chapter deals with "the shifts in the ranking of powers, the growth of states in size, and the movement for peace."

Each article contains such a wealth of ideas and implications that a complete review is impossible here. However, some of the themes which run through the book can be mentioned. The thoughts on international relations of most of the contributors seem dictated by two main considerations: acceptance of the Soviet Union as an enemy nation, at least potentially, and modern technology. Thus Usher finds that "Warfare requires space on a continental scale," implying that countries readying themselves for conflict must include neighboring nations in their preparations. Ogburn feels that the development of rockets and airplanes increases the need for security zones around powerful nations. The presence of the atomic bomb, Fox indicates, necessitates bases near the potential enemy as well as a circle of protective smaller states. The increased need for greater protection which modern methods of warfare have created may have "outmoded pre-Hiroshima government areas only to introduce a new area of political control larger than the national state but not yet world wide." And Leigh writes that while mass-communication methods can be used to cement this divided world, the difficulty of piercing the Iron Curtain increases and those inventions tend to strengthen the differences between the Big Two. Wright fears that "Once bipolarity is established, it is hard to get out of [it] peacefully."

What must we do to obtain a peaceful world? The answer to this—and to most questions raised in the book—is preceded by a multitude of *IFS*: What would happen *if* both Russia and the United States had the atomic bomb? Would the mutual dread of destruction work to prevent war? Would this occur *if* we had more bombs than the Russians? Less? The same

amount? What would international policy be if the Communists swept the Continent and Soviet rockets made "the British Isles a hostage to United States good behavior"? Would we or could we use the bomb? These and many additional if's permit hypothetical glimpses into the possible future so that man can better prepare to control or modify the conceivable effects of this technology.

The authors recognize the lack of scientific research in their field, and know that their contributions are limited and their work explorative. What most do is to state possibilities and offer tentative conclusions. They are also aware that technology is only one of many factors which must be considered when thinking about the complexities of international relations.

Though the expert will find much that is familiar to him, and despite its admitted limitations, this book is welcomed not only for its wealth of interesting and stimulating opinion, conjecture, and information, but because it points to our still limited knowledge of the field and reminds us of the great and pressing need to study those interrelationships which affect world peace. It is further to be commended for its honest probing into the important and relatively unexplored area of technology and international affairs.

ERWIN O. SMIGEL

Indiana University

*Economics of Migration.* By JULIUS ISAAC. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. xii, 285 pp. \$4.50.

This is a revised version of a Ph.D. dissertation done at the University of London in which the author discusses the causes and effects of population migrations throughout the world during the last century.

After two brief introductory chapters defining migration and tracing the historical development of ancient migrations, the author turns to an examination of the factors determining the volume and direction of recent migration (Chapter III). These are found to be largely economic in nature, consisting of such things as differentials in living costs, new employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, the development of new trade routes, and natural resources. But politics and religion, as well as certain other considerations, have played their part along with economics, in guiding the nature and extent of world migrations.

Chapter IV discusses migration as a means

of adjusting a "disharmonious distribution" of population. "The optimum point for a population with a given amount of capital and natural resources is reached under conditions of free competition when the marginal product of labour is equal to the average output per head" (p. 71). Furthermore, unrestricted and unselected immigration into countries containing an abundance of natural resources but sparsely populated is likely to yield increasing returns; and conversely, such immigration into overpopulated regions with meagre capital facilities produces diminishing returns. Economic remedies to emigration are suggested as (a) a more equal distribution of income, (b) transition from primary to secondary production, (c) expansion of external trade, (d) attraction of foreign capital, (e) more equal distribution of landed property, and (f) power politics.

In Chapter VI, the author considers the demographic and economic effects of migration, that is its quantitative and qualitative aspects, and its effect upon wages, the domestic supply of labor generally, and the business cycle.

The possibility of planned migrations on an international scale, and the relationship of migration to international trade and international capital movements are discussed in the remaining two chapters of the work (Chapter V—misplaced, and Chapter VII).

It is to be regretted that more recent population data were not used by the author in making his analysis meaningful in a postwar world in which population pressures are still seeking releases throughout the world. But it must be acknowledged that the census data compiled in the United States are unique in presenting valuable sociological and economic information on aspects of this problem discussed in meagre terms by the author with respect to other important nations of the world (cf. pp. 176, 186, 247). Certainly more "evidence" is needed than the author presents to substantiate his statement that (p. 193) "there still remains some evidence that people belonging to the lowest social strata are on the average less well endowed mentally than those of higher strata, and that cases of feeble-mindedness occur relatively often among the former." Again, other statements are carelessly made: (i.e. p. 197) "strictly speaking, the standard of living has no direct relation to real income; it is determined by that part of the national income which is spent on consumption and by the number of consumers."



The most deficient aspect in this work to this reviewer seems to be the lack of any analysis relating to labor productivity comparisons in emigrant and immigrant countries during the period in question. Intelligent international planning would appear to rest upon analyses indicating the economic effect to the nation and to the individual of international migrations. If we are to plan national immigration policies wisely, there still remains much information to be compiled on this important problem. With his dissertation now out of the way, maybe the author will settle down to such a task. He now has a good background on which to build.

PAUL A. DODD

*University of California*

*Historical Sociology: Its Origins and Development.* By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. x, 186 pp. \$3.00.

The pendulum has swung in sociology so far toward concentration on personality studies that it is good to have the tradition of historical sociology put into focus and offered to students in a convenient volume. Barnes has organized his material under the general heads of historical sociology's rise and development, its contribution to our knowledge of the history of human society, and some of its practical applications. The book's pages are peppered profusely with names of authors and titles catalogued encyclopedically with relatively meagre exposition and critical appraisal of the works of each author. The ordered juxtaposition of names and diverse points of view might give some assistance to new students in patterning the characteristics of the field. Students might also be stimulated by the iconoclastic attitude Barnes adopts toward system-builders such as Spengler, Toynbee, and Sorokin, and toward the failure of capitalist culture to keep abreast of technological advances. They will probably feel considerably let down, however, by the paucity of significant insights among the authors treated, and the absence of clues as to how to emerge from, or to seek solution of, the plight of man in this atomic age. Even to an eager beginner, or perhaps especially to such a beginner not yet inured to disappointment from sociologists, much of the discussion will probably seem threadbare and fatuous, and unfortunately repetitious.

According to Barnes, there has been no major contribution to historical sociology during the last four decades. This may be granted. One misses, however, references to the monographic

and periodical literature in this and related fields for the last decade, for Barnes' references with but two exceptions are from the late twenties and early thirties. It is odd, for example, to find Barnes echoing Lowie's comment that "Thurnwald thus stands at the head of present day sociological students of primitive society," and to discover no mention of V. Gordon Childe. There is no reference to the significant sociological developments in the history of science and of medicine. William C. McLeod's work, and that of Brooks Adams, is repeatedly much overrated, and not even a passing reference is made to the critical work on intellectual and political history by such men as Hofstadter. With original documents so readily available, and with his knowledge of the developments of the last thirty years, it is inexcusable that Barnes should repeat the conventional error that "Marx held that social progress is automatic and inevitable" and should fail to discuss the sociology of historical materialism. The reports of the Temporary National Economic Committee have rendered obsolete Barnes' theme, derived originally from Veblen, that "ownership is divorced from management" in our economy. Barnes, in spite of his wisdom in so many fields, also continues to reiterate naively his faith in turning over affairs to "experts," as if they could remain uninfluenced in the struggle between power groups. And it is surprising, when one considers how much he has written on the concept of culture, that he could declare that "still another reason why a great gulf has developed between our material culture and our institutional heritage is to be found in our simian ancestry. . . . In short, our biological heritage naturally impels us to occupy ourselves with material things and discourages or frustrates intelligent interest in analyzing, evaluating and altering for the better, our institutional equipment."

BERNHARD J. STERN

*Columbia University*

*British Medieval Population.* By JOSIAH COX RUSSELL. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948. xvi, 389 pp. \$6.00.

The available materials pertaining to the population of England in the Middle Ages are here re-examined. The author utilized published materials, as well as unpublished historical records available only in manuscript. The major sources of data utilized include: the Domesday Survey of the 11th Century; Estimates, which

often provided the names of inhabitants as well as descriptions of properties; Inquisitions Post Mortem and proofs of age; and the Poll Taxes, particularly that of 1377.

On the basis of these data Russell presents his estimates of the population of England for various dates from 1086 to 1545. He estimates the population as of the time of the Domesday Survey as about 1,100,000. The population increased to about 3,700,000 up to the time of the beginning of the Black Death in 1348. This plague so decimated the population that by the first decade of the 15th Century there were possibly only about 2,100,000 persons. After this the population increased again to about 3 and a quarter millions in the middle of the 16th Century.

Estimated life tables are presented, as well as selected items of demographic information, including: urban development and size of settlements, marital status and age of marriage, sex composition, and fertility. A separate chapter presenting data on the Celtic areas is included.

A considerable body of literature exists on the subject of British Medieval population (admirably summarized by Marjory Atsatt); estimates were already being made by the 17th Century, if not earlier. Russell is primarily an historian and, as such, views population problems from the historical viewpoint rather than from that of a trained demographer. His re-working and re-evaluations of the available data are excellent from an historical viewpoint and mark a contribution to the existing historical literature.

Whether or not Russell has uncovered any really new and decisive facts, however, is another question. For example, his estimate of 1,100,000 persons as of the time of the Domesday Survey is smaller than any other available estimate. This figure, however, is based on the assumption that there was an average of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  persons to a house. Multiplying  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by the number of families recorded in this Survey provides the above population estimate. Actually, the data presented in an effort to substantiate this estimate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  persons per house are highly interesting, but from the demographic viewpoint, not necessarily conclusive. This figure of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is based on a scattering of evidence from the 1377 Poll Tax, almost three centuries after the Domesday Survey; two questions arise: a) was the sample for 1377 reasonably accurate and b) was the pattern of housing in 1377 similar to that of 1086? (This is not to say that better estimates are available elsewhere; in fact, the

reviewer believes that Russell's estimates are probably the best available.) In connection with the estimates of population size in 1377 as based on the Poll Tax figures, Russell's figure of about 2 and a quarter million people agrees very closely with practically every other estimate made.

On the whole, it would appear to this reviewer that the possibilities of determining the size and characteristics of past populations with a sufficient degree of accuracy so as to make the data demographically very useful are small. It may be that Russell has summarized the materials about as well as any historian of this period will ever be able to do. However, the exact relationship of such summaries to population problems in the modern world would not appear very close.

A. J. JAFFE

Washington, D.C.

*Voluntary Action.* By LORD BEVERIDGE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. 420 pp. \$4.50.

A visiting British juvenile court official in commenting on the differences between British and American judges, remarked recently that whereas the latter are chiefly professionals trying to capture the amateur spirit, those in Great Britain are amateurs trying to be as professional as they know how. However this may be, certain is it that there has always been a strong tradition of social service in England, and a feeling that those in more fortunate positions, however untrained, owe a duty to the Commonwealth and to their less fortunate brethren. The nineteenth century in particular was a period of spirited private enterprise, not only in the pursuit of wealth but also in social reform.

This book is a report on the chief forms of private or voluntary action in this field. It is a companion piece and appropriate sequel to the author's celebrated report on Social Insurance and Allied Services which appeared in 1942. Whereas that earlier study was confined largely to what the state should do to insure the security and to promote the welfare of its citizens, the concern of this volume is what the individual has done and should do, independent of the state, to help himself and his fellows.

Lord Beveridge analyzes voluntary action under two main heads. One is mutual aid, and includes the Friendly Societies, the Building Societies, the Cooperative Societies, the trade unions, trustee savings banks, and hospital contributory schemes. The other group comprises

the philanthropic instrumentalities, and includes agencies for the sick and injured, children, youth, aged, blind, physically handicapped, physical recreation, and for the promotion of *urban and rural amenities*! The fields of hospital provision and school education are not discussed, as being at the moment in too great a state of transition.

This book will not be read so widely as the author's earlier one on state action; it should, in the judgment of the reviewer, be read much more widely. Its implication on every page, and its direct statements at intervals throughout the volume, are that "emphasis on duty rather than assertion of rights presents itself today as the condition on which alone humanity can resume the progress in civilization which has been

interrupted by two world wars and remains halted by their consequences"; that "voluntary action outside the citizen's home, both individually and in association with others, for bettering his own and his fellows' lives, are the distinguishing marks of a truly free society"; and that "the happiness or unhappiness of the society in which we live depends on ourselves as citizens, not on the instrument of political power which we call the state."

The challenge of this book is its philosophy; its marshalled facts are its provocative defense; its style of expression constitutes its simple charm.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

University of Pennsylvania

## BOOK NOTES

### *Race and Region: A Descriptive Bibliography.*

By EDGAR T. THOMPSON and ALMA MACY THOMPSON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. xii, 194 pp. \$5.00.

This volume lists and describes approximately 2,000 book and periodical titles dealing with the Negro and the subject of race relations, particularly in the United States. The project grew out of the collection of materials on race in the libraries of the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and North Carolina College, financed over a period of ten years by the Division of Cooperation in Education and Race Relations in North Carolina. Every title listed in this bibliography will be found in one of the three libraries in the Durham-Chapel Hill area, and many will be found in all three. The selections were well made and the annotations maintain a high degree of accuracy and objectivity. The titles have been classified topically. There is an author index, which is very helpful, in fact essential to the full utilization of the volume.

*Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials: A Survey and Appraisal.* Report of the COMMITTEE ON THE STUDY OF TEACHING MATERIALS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949. viii, 231 pp. \$3.00.

This book presents findings of a committee appointed in 1944 to examine teaching matter in the subject of intergroup relations. Some 315 texts and courses of study covering, for the most part, the social sciences and ranging in academic

level from fourth grade to junior college were assessed. The findings are largely negative. While the committee notes that few texts are intentionally biased toward any group, frequent value judgments "tend to perpetuate antagonisms now current in American life." Immigrants, Negroes, and Jews are still treated as stereotypes; Asiatic and Spanish-speaking minorities are scarcely mentioned; and the concept of Americanization as "cultural pluralism" is rarely suggested. The real nature of differences between religious groups is not made clear in many texts, nor is the nature of prejudice as a psychological phenomenon adequately treated. Few texts touch upon techniques of intergroup relations. The committee finds, in sum, that the textbooks studied "are guilty of failing to come to grips with basic issues in the complex problems of human relations."

*Segregation in Washington.* Text by KENESAW M. LANDIS, Cover and Graphics by TOM P. BARRETT. Chicago: The National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, 1948. 91 pp. 75 cents.

A condensed summary of the research findings of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, this is a simple, direct, and effective presentation of the prevailing conditions of segregation and discrimination against Negroes in housing, health, employment, education, recreation, and other aspects of life. Since the turn of the century, and especially since the Wilson administration, the situation has become worse, until Washington is now the

"Capital of White Supremacy" instead of a symbol of democracy, to the embarrassment of the government and the shame of the nation. The Committee attributes this anomalous situation to the lack of suffrage and home rule and to the pattern set by the leaders of the community—the Real Estate Board, the Board of Trade, Citizens' Associations, District Commissioners, white physicians, hotel, restaurant, and theatre proprietors, and other "interests"—who hold that segregation is a "matter of good business." The solution: "Only by responding to the challenge can Americans who believe in equal rights recover the capital they have lost. Only by using the power vested in Congress in behalf of the nation and the nation's principles can the city of Washington be restored to its original destiny."

*American Social Reform Movements: Their Pattern Since 1865.* By THOMAS H. GREER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. ix, 313 pp. \$4.00.

Greer has here attempted to derive general patterns of social reform movements by examining a handful of such enterprises in three main socio-economic groups, which he labels industrial labor, farmers, and the middle class. His achievement falls short of its purpose because he is unable to rise above description to sociological generalization. The several essays are readable, but cursory.

*Trends in Social Work, as reflected in the Proceedings of the National Conferences of Social Work, 1874-1946.* By FRANK J. BRUNO. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. xvi, 387 pp. \$4.50.

In the winter of 1945-46, the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work, as part of its plan for the seventy-fifth meeting in the spring of 1948, authorized the publication of a volume recounting the development of the Conference. It chose well in giving this assignment to Dr. Bruno, who brought to the task the wisdom and experience gained from forty years in the practice and teaching of social work. He has written in reality a history of the growth of professional social work as a background against which to view the development of the Conference—from a handful of public charity officials in 1874 to a body of 7,000 members representing a field, social welfare, that has now become a major concern of the nation. He has traced the evolution of attitudes and techniques, and has written interestingly of the

leading personalities in the movement. Throughout the history of the Conference as a national clearinghouse of ideas and experience there has been little association between sociology and social work, probably to the loss of both. Interrelationship has been resisted by both groups—by the sociologists, because of the need to dissociate research and theory from extraneously determined values; and by social workers, because of this very theoretical trend in sociology. Social work has found psychology and psychiatry more immediately pertinent and useful. This volume should appeal to all who have an interest in social problems and reform.

*The American Woman in Modern Marriage.* By SONYA RUTH DAS. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. 173 pp. \$3.75.

The thesis of this slim but informative book is that modern science has endowed the American woman with a new and distinctive "personality." Her new individuality is correlative with a code of feminine ethics which gives her greater equality of status with men than ever before. The present concept of marriage in America is thus related to women's increasing influence in educational, economic, and political spheres, as well as to "voluntary motherhood." Typical of the undocumented compression which characterizes the book is the 24-page chapter on the institution of marriage: its historical development, its various forms, the present patterns of courtship and mate selection, and the legal aspects of marriage. Although one may wonder how the author—Russian-born wife of an Indian—arrived at many of her sweeping conclusions, she has managed to pack much information of a factual nature, as well as many original ideas, into this little book.

*Building a Successful Marriage.* By JUDSON T. LANDIS and MARY G. LANDIS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. ix, 559 pp. \$4.50.

This is one of the better of the many books in marriage which have recently appeared on the market. Its materials are compactly and succinctly presented, and demonstrate that the authors have patiently scanned the pages of most available researches in the field, adding some of their own as well. At the same time, because these researches are considerably defective or limited in number, our lack of tested knowledge concerning many phases of marriage and family living is reflected in this book. The authors, who state that their volume is based on the experience of teaching marriage courses



to some 7,500 college students, have addressed their book to readers at the high school level, and invited a certain dullness because of the elementary nature of their approach.

*America's Pacific Dependencies: A Survey of American Colonial Policies and of Administration and Progress toward Self-Rule in Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, and the Trust Territory.* By RUPERT EMERSON, LAWRENCE S. FINKELSTEIN, E. L. BARTLETT, GEORGE H. McLANE and ROY E. JAMES. New York: American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1949. 134 pp. \$1.50.

A developmental survey of changing governmental policies and administrative practices in America's Pacific dependencies, this book supplies a useful balance of fact and interpretation down to the present year. Three illuminating general chapters open the discussion—"American Policy toward Pacific Dependencies" and "The U.S. and Trusteeship in the Pacific" by Emerson, and "The U.S. and Non-Self Governing Peoples" by Finkelstein. These are followed by five "areal" chapters concerning Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory. The extent to which our national concepts of democracy, freedom, and strategic defense are involved in the management of our territorial possessions needs wider public understanding. The varying political statuses among territories, the novel "strategic area" concept applied to the Trust Territory, and the many past and present inconsistencies in American policy are judiciously considered. As Finkelstein says, the United States alone of all colonial powers has no equivalent to a colonial ministry; and our continuing use of military administration in some dependencies for a half-century seems anachronistic, to say the least.

*Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia.* By ERICH H. JACOBY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. xvii, 287 pp. \$4.00.

Jacoby modestly states that his book "does not aim at a complete analysis of the economic

and social processes" in Southeast Asia today; but within its brief compass it presents an impressive amount of detailed material which any "complete" interpretation would necessarily include. This workmanlike comparative survey of the dependent economies of Java, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Philippines, and Siam ably summarizes the character and extent of certain socio-economic problems basic to the entire area. For all but a handful of specialists, the book provides a timely, systematic picture. Its chief contribution lies in its description and interpretation of the interlocking factors which underlie the protean nationalistic movements that make today's headlines from the Far East.

*Three Reports on the Malayan Problem.* By DAVID R. REES-WILLIAMS, TAN CHENG LOCK, and S. S. AWBERY and F. W. DALLEY. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1949. 46 pp. 50 cents.

The post-war unrest and open violence in the raddled social situation in the Malayan Federation inevitably fosters partisan reporting rather than balanced evaluation of a plural society. Each of the three statements here assembled—by the British Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs, an influential and articulate Chinese resident, and two officially appointed trade union investigators respectively—has its initial biases and orientation, but for purposes of the contemporary record each has its value. Excerpts from the debate on Malaya in the House of Lords last November are appended. The current activities of communist-inspired labor unions and jungle dacoits on the one hand, and governmental anti-bandit squads and "ferret forces" on the other, render extremely difficult an objective definition of the Malayan Problem. The latter may ultimately prove indivisible, but understanding of its present socio-political components—ethnic and nationalistic, economic and anti-imperial, educational and constitutional—demand separate analytical treatment of a more rigorous, balanced, and objective character than is apparent here.

# PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

- [AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.] *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials: A Survey and Appraisal*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949. 231 pp. \$3.00.
- The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 262 (March 1949). *Reappraising Our Immigration Policy*. Edited by HUGH CARTER. Philadelphia, Pa.: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1949, v, 259 pp. No price indicated.
- ANSHEN, RUTH NANDA (Editor). *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*. (Science of Culture Series, Vol. V.) New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. xi, 443 pp. \$6.00 (Text edition, \$4.50).
- ANSTEV, BRYAN. *On the Nature of Value*. Ledbury, England: Le Play House Press (*The Sociological Review*, Vol. XL, 1948), 1948. 16 pp. No price indicated.
- BARTON, R. F. *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. xii, 275 pp.; XXXIX plates. \$4.00.
- BEHRENDT, RICHARD F. *Modern Latin America in Social Science Literature: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Periodicals in English in the Fields of Economics, Politics, and Sociology in Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949. 152 pp. \$2.50.
- BINKLEY, O. T. *The Churches and the Social Conscience*. Indianapolis, Ind.: National Foundation Press, 1948. vii, 39 pp. \$1.00 cloth-bound.
- BOGARDUS, EMORY S. *Sociology* (Third edition). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. xiii, 598 pp. \$4.50.
- BURDETTE, FRANKLIN L. (Editor). *Directory of the American Political Science Association: Second Edition, 1948*. Indianapolis, Ind.: National Foundation for Education, 1949. xiv, 360 pp. No price indicated.
- [BUREAU OF THE CENSUS with the cooperation of THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL.] *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1949. viii, 351 pp. \$2.50.
- CAHN, FRANCES T. *Federal Employees in War and Peace: Selection, Placement, and Removal*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1949. xiii, 253 pp. \$3.50.
- CEBOLLERO, PEDRO A. *A School Language Policy for Puerto Rico* (English edition). San Juan de Puerto Rico: Superior Educational Council of Puerto Rico, Educational Publications, Series II, No. 1, 1945. 133 pp. No price indicated.
- CONDE, JAVIER. *La Relacion Social* (Revista de Estudios Politicos, No. 43). Madrid, Spain: Esti-  
tuto de Estudios Politicos, 1949. pp. 117-125. No price indicated.
- CORTNEY, PHILIP. *The Economic Munich: The I. T. O. Charter; Inflation or Liberty; the 1929 Lesson*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. xx, 262 pp. \$3.75.
- CREEEL, H. G. *Confucius: The Man and the Myth*. New York: The John Day Company, 1949. xi, 363 pp. \$5.00.
- DESAI, A. R. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. xv, 415 pp. \$7.50.
- ELLSON, HAL. *Duke*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. ix, 170 pp. \$2.75.
- EMERSON, RUPERT, et al. *America's Pacific Dependencies: A Survey of American Colonial Policies and Administration and Progress toward Self-Rule in Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa and the Trust Territory*. New York: American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1949. 134 pp. \$1.50.
- FISHER, SYDNEY NETTLETON. *The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481-1512* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXX, No. 1). Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1948. 125 pp. No price indicated.
- FLEMING, C. M. *Adolescence: Its Social Psychology: with an Introduction to recent findings from the fields of Anthropology, Physiology, Medicine, Psychometrics and Sociometry*. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1949. vii, 262 pp. \$4.50.
- [FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS.] *Essentials of Rural Welfare: An Approach to the Improvement of Rural Well-being*. Washington, D.C.: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1949. 43 pp. 50 cents.
- FRAZIER, E. FRANKLIN. *The Negro in the United States*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. xxxi, 767 pp. \$6.00.
- FURBAY, JOHN HARVEY. *Workbook Manual for Marriage and the Family* (Revised edition). New York: D. Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1949. vii, 248 pp. \$2.00.
- GARFIELD, VIOLA E., and LINN A. FORREST. *The Wolf and the Raven*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1948 [1949]. ix, 151 pp. \$3.00.
- GASTER, THEODOR HERZL. *Passover: Its History and Traditions*. New York: Henry Schuman, 1949. 102 pp. \$2.50.
- GOODRICH, LELAND and EDVARD HAMBRO. *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents* (Second and Revised Edition). Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1949. xvi, 710 pp. \$4.75.

- HAHN, L. ALBERT. *The Economics of Illusion: A Critical Analysis of Contemporary Economic Theory and Policy*. New York: Squier Publishing Co., 1949. vii, 273 pp. \$4.00.
- HERMAN, ABBOTT P. *An Approach to Social Problems*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949. xi, 516 pp. \$3.75.
- HOFFSOMMER, HAROLD. *Regional Research Cooperation: A Statement of Regional Research Procedures as developed by The Regional Land Tenure Research Project*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. ix, 136 pp. \$2.50.
- HOLBORN, LOUISE W. (Editor). *War and Peace Aims of the United Nations: From Casablanca to Tokio Bay, January 1, 1943—September 1, 1945*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1948. xv, 1278 pp. \$6.00.
- JOAD, C. E. M. *Decadence: A Philosophical Inquiry*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1949. 430 pp. \$4.75.
- KEITH, SIR ARTHUR. *A New Theory of Human Evolution*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1949. x, 451 pp. \$4.75.
- KELLEY, JANET AGNES. *College Life and the Mores*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949. xii, 308 pp. \$3.75.
- KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE. *Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life*. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949. xi, 313 pp. \$3.75.
- KOHN, CLYDE F. (Editor). *Geographic Approaches to Social Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1949. xv, 299 pp. Paper-bound, \$2.50; cloth-bound, \$3.00.
- LANDIS, KENESAW M. *Segregation in Washington: A Report of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, November, 1948*. Chicago: The National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital. 91 pp. 75 cents and 10 cents postage.
- LAZARFIELD, PAUL F. and FRANK N. STANTON (Editors). *Communications Research: 1948-1949*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. xviii, 332 pp. \$4.50.
- LEE, ALFRED MCCLUNG and ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE. *Social Problems in America: A Source Book*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949. xxi, 741 pp. \$4.00.
- LEE, IRVING J. (Editor). *The Language of Wisdom and Folly*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. xxii, 361 pp. \$3.00.
- LEIGHTON, ALEXANDER H. *Human Relations in a Changing World: Observations on the Use of the Social Sciences*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1949. 354 pp. \$4.50.
- LEIGHTON, ALEXANDER H., DOROTHEA C. LEIGHTON, assisted by CATHERINE OPLER. *Gregorio, the Hand-Trembler: A Psychobiological Personality Study of a Navaho Indian* (Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. XL, No. 1). Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, 1949. xiv, 177 pp. \$2.50.
- LINK, EDITH MURR. *The Emancipation of the Austrian Peasant: 1740-1798*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. 204 pp. \$3.00.
- MACKENZIE, CATHERINE. *Parent and Child*. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1949. ix, 341 pp. \$2.95.
- MACKENZIE, MURDO. *Psycho-Social Forces: Their Nature and Their Interaction. The Sociological Review*, Vol. XL, Section 7, 1948. Ledbury, England: Le Play House Press, 1948. pp. 83-96. 1s.
- MARCEL, GABRIEL. *The Philosophy of Existence*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. viii, 96 pp. \$2.75.
- MAVES, PAUL B. and J. LENNART CEDARLEAF. *Older People and the Church*. New York: Abington-Cokesbury Press, 1949. 272 pp. \$2.50.
- MAY, HENRY F. *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. x, 297 pp. \$3.50.
- MILLSAUGH, ARTHUR C. *Toward Efficient Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1949. viii, 307 pp. \$3.50.
- [NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION and THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.] *Third National Conference on Citizenship*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1949. 111 pp. No price indicated.
- [THE NPA AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE on NATIONAL PLANNING.] *Must We Have Food Surpluses?* Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association (Pamphlet No. 66), 1949. vii, 47 pp. 50 cents.
- [NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE.] *Perspectives in Medicine: The March of Medicine, 1948* (Number XIII of the New York Academy of Medicine Lectures to the Laity). New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. x, 163 pp. \$2.50.
- NOVICK, DAVID, MELVIN ASHEN, and W. C. TRUFFNER. *Wartime Production Controls*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. vi, 441 pp. \$6.00.
- OCBURN, WILLIAM F. (Editor). *Technology and International Relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. vii, 202 pp. \$4.00.
- PATTERSON, CHARLES H. *Moral Standards: An Introduction to Ethics*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1949. xii, 514 pp. \$4.00.
- PAVLOVSKY, MICHEL N. *Chinese-Russian Relations*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. viii, 194 pp. \$3.75.
- PETERSON, CHAILER. *How Well Are Indian Children Educated? Summary of results of a three year program testing the achievement of Indian children in federal, public and mission schools*. Washington, D.C.: United States Indian Service, 1949. 182 pp. \$1.00.
- Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Selected Papers, Seventy-fifth Anniversary Meeting, Atlantic City, New Jersey, April 17-*

- 23, 1948. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. x, 498 pp. \$6.00.
- RAUSHENBUSE, STEPHEN. *Our Conservation Job: A New Way to Obtain Soil and Range Forest Fuel and Energy Conservation*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Institute, 1949. 64 pp. No price indicated.
- ROSENZWEIG, SAUL, with collaboration of KATE LEVINE KOGAN. *Psychodynamics: An Introduction to Tests in the Clinical Practice of Psychodynamics*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1949. xii, 380 pp. \$5.00.
- SABISTON, DOROTHY and MARGARET HILLER. *Toward Better Race Relations*. New York: The Woman's Press, 1949. viii, 190 pp. \$2.50.
- SANDERS, IRWIN T. *Balkan Village*. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1949. viii, 291 pp. \$4.00.
- SCHAPIRO, J. SALWYN. *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism: Social Forces in England and France (1815-1870)*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. xi, 421 pp. \$5.00.
- SCHERMERHORN, R. A. *These Our People: Minorities in American Culture*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949. x, 635 pp. \$4.50.
- SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR, M., JR. *The Age of Jackson*. New York: The New American Library, 1949. 192 pp. 35 cents.
- SELZNICK, PHILIP. *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. viii, 274 pp. \$3.75.
- SHOTWELL, JAMES T. and MARINA SALVIN. *Lessons in Security and Disarmament: from the History of the League of Nations*. New York: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, King's Crown Press, 1949. 149 pp. \$2.25.
- SPALDING, WILLARD and JOHN R. MONTAGUE, M. D. *Alcohol and Human Affairs: With an Appendix on Tobacco and Narcotics*. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1949. vii, 248 pp. No price indicated.
- SPITZ, DAVID. *Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought: An Analysis and Criticism, with Special Reference to the American Political Mind in Recent Times*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. xiii, 304 pp. \$4.50.
- STEVENS, HENRY BAILEY. *The Recovery of Culture*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. xvii, 247 pp. \$3.00.
- STONE, WALTER L. *The Field of Recreation*. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1949. 41 pp. \$1.00.
- STOUFFER, SAMUEL A., EDWARD A. SUCHMAN, LE- LAND C. DEVINNEY, SHIRLEY A. STAR, and ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR. *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life* (Vol. I). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949. xii, 599 pp. \$7.50.
- STRAKHOVSKY, LEONID I. (Editor). *A Handbook of Slavic Studies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. xxi, 753 pp. \$12.50.
- THOMPSON, EDGAR and ALMA MACY THOMPSON. *Race and Region: A Descriptive Bibliography Compiled with Special Reference to the Relations Between Whites and Negroes in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. xii, 194 pp. \$5.00.
- UNITED NATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION. *For Fundamental Human Rights*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. 126 pp. \$1.00.
- VANCE, RUFERT B., JOHN E. IVEY, JR., and MARJORIE N. BOND. *Exploring the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. x, 404 pp. \$3.50.
- WAGLEY, CARLES and EDUARDO GALVÃO. *The Tenehara Indians of Brazil: A Culture in Transition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. xv, 200 pp. \$3.75.
- WAHL, JEAN. *A Short History of Existentialism*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. 58 pp. \$2.75.
- WARNE, COLSTON E. (Chairman of Board of Editors). *Labor in Postwar America*. New York: Remsen Press, 1949. xii, 765 pp. No price indicated.
- WATTENBERG, WILLIAM W. *Boy Repeaters, 1946-1947*. Detroit, Mich.: Crime Prevention Bureau of the Detroit Police Department, 1949. 26 pages, with 62 tables. No price indicated.
- WERTHAM, FREDERIC, M.D. *The Show of Violence*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1949. 279 pp. \$3.00.
- WILLEMS, EMILIO. *Cunha: Tradição e Transição em uma Cultura do Brasil*. São Paulo, Brazil: Rothschild Loureiro, 1948. 240 pp. No price indicated.
- WILSON, LOGAN and WILLIAM L. KOLB. *Sociological Analysis: An Introductory Text and Case Book*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949. xviii, 866 pp. No price indicated.
- WOODBURY, COLEMAN and FREDERICK A. GUTHEIM. *Rethinking Urban Development* (Urban Development Series No. 1). Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1949. 26 pp. \$1.00.



## SOCIAL LIFE

### Structure and Function

By JOHN W. BENNETT, *Ohio State University*  
and MELVIN M. TUMIN, *Princeton University*

Now being used by such schools as Princeton University, State University of Iowa, Pennsylvania State College, Indiana University, and the University of California, Los Angeles, this thoughtful study uniquely fills the need for a text usable in either basic or more advanced courses. It introduces the student not only to the major institutions and problems of American society today, but also to concepts fundamental to an understanding of society and culture, concepts which can be utilized either for social living or for more advanced work in the social sciences.

"This is an original and thoughtful approach to the material conventionally given in the introductory course in sociology. The authors have been especially successful in integrating the new insights of social psychiatry and cultural anthropology into a consistent and stimulating introduction to man and society. The authors are to be congratulated for their original contribution to the introductory field."

—FRANCIS E. MERRILL, *Dartmouth College*  
763 pages; \$4.50 text

Announcing a New Study in Social Psychology

## EMERGENT HUMAN NATURE

### A Symbolic Field Interpretation

By WALTER COUTU, *Pennsylvania State College*

Foreword by LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR., *Cornell University*

Both stimulating and constructive, this treatment of human social behavior is a substantial contribution toward the goal of an adequate social psychological theory. By drawing together many partial formulations and improving upon earlier conceptualizations, the author has presented here an integrated, comprehensive system for social psychology—a synthesis of the situational, or field, approach and the symbolic interactionist approach to the study of human behavior.

The systematic heuristic presentation of the more advanced contemporary thinking about human behavior in the fields of social psychology, psychology, anthropology, psychiatry, and semantics makes this book valuable as a social psychology text and as supplementary reading in all related courses. *Ready in August. Approx. 400 pages; about \$3.75 text*

*Examination copies on request*

College Department  
ALFRED A. KNOFF

501 Madison Avenue  
NEW YORK 22

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*